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ABSTRACT

This study analyzes the results of a survey conducted on the participation of Colombian migrant households in the New York City labor market and the occupational mobility of these men and women in that labor market. It focuses on the socioeconomic dimensions of their migration on three levels: (1) macroeconomic--concerning the New York City labor market broadly, in context of both national and international trends; (2) intermediate--concerning the specific labor market involvement of 176 Colombian immigrants residing in Queens, New York; and (3) micro--examining the Colombian sample population through in-depth interviews, focusing on such topics as women in the migration process, ideology, and levels of consciousness of Colombian immigrants. Economic reasons that necessitate migration are reviewed from a global perspective. Then trends in Colombian migration to the United States of both skilled and unskilled workers, and the demographic characteristics of the Colombian community in New York City are described. Colombian households in New York are compared with those of urban areas in Colombia. Finally, sociodemographic and economic characteristics of Colombian households are examined in relation to their participation in the labor force. (AOS)

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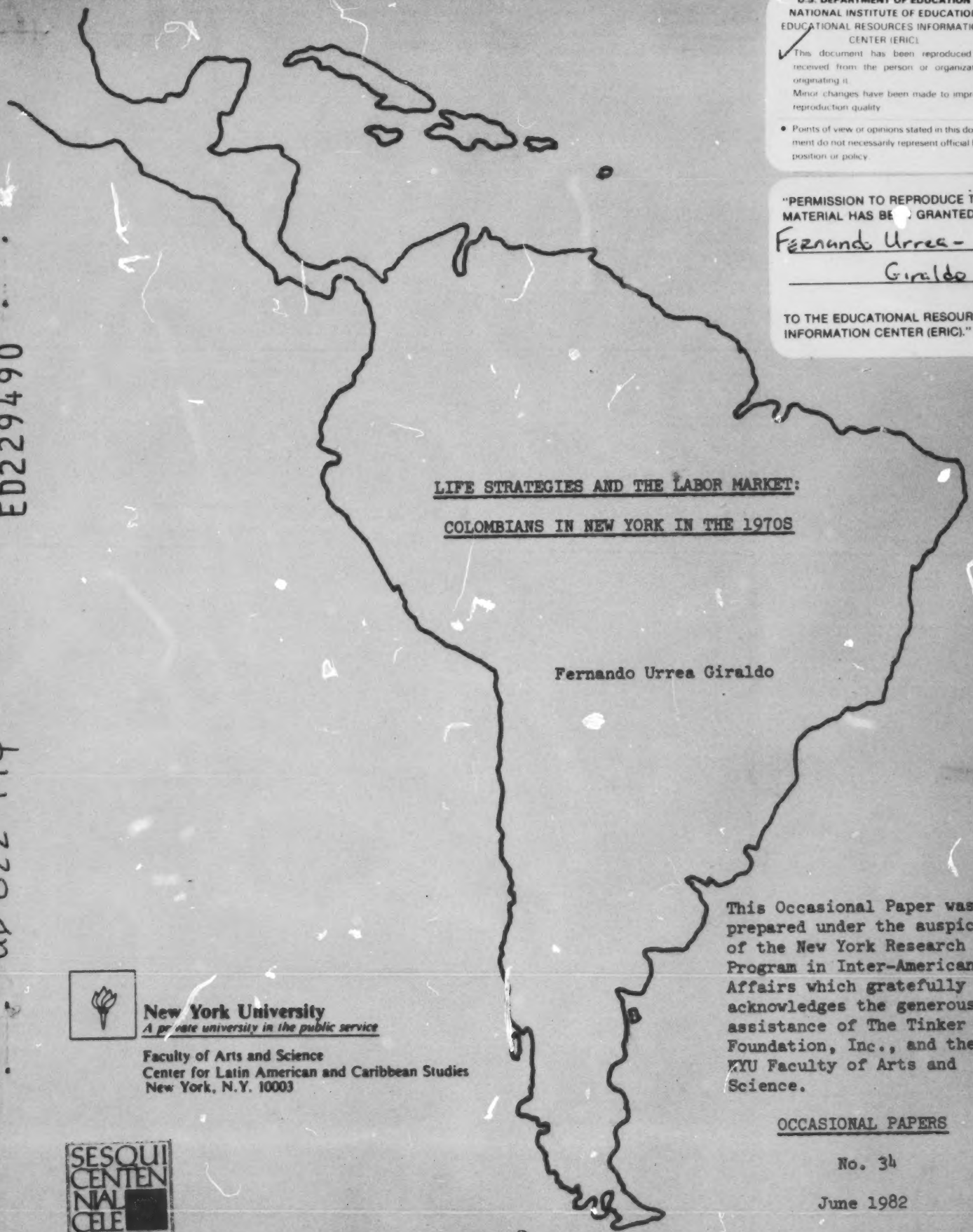

LIFE STRATEGIES AND THE LABOR MARKET: COLOMBIANS IN NEW YORK IN THE 1970S

Fernando Urrea Giraldo

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"Life Strategies and the Labor Market: Colombians in New York in the 1970s"

by

Fernando Urrea Giraldo

New York Research Program in Inter-American Affairs

Presented at the Conference on
"Colombians and Dominicans in New York:
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FOREWORD

"Life Strategies and the Labor Market: Colombians in New York City in the 1970s" analyzes the participation of Colombian immigrant households in the New York City labor market and the occupational mobility of Colombian men and women in that labor market. This study focuses more on the socio-economic dimension of the migration process than on the consciousness of the migrants, which is explored by Mary Garcia Castro in her study. From the beginning of our investigation (August 1981), we have conceived this study to have three levels, as much in terms of the phenomenon of migration as in terms of the collection and interpretation of the data:

1) A macroeconomic level concerned with the tendencies of the labor market in New York City (the structure and dynamic between supply and demand) during the 1960s and the 1970s, in the broader context of demographic redistribution and changes in the labor force in the United States and the new tendencies evident in the investment of capital, both within the United States and abroad. It has also been necessary to obtain information concerning the occupational and educational characteristics of the Colombian population during the 1970s, and the level of real wages during the same time period. It has been important as well to examine the incorporation of other Hispanic groups into the United States labor market. In this level of the analysis we made use of information from sources such as the U.S. Census, the U.S. Labor Department, the U.S. Department of Commerce (Bureau of the Census), and other, more specific studies, such as that by Guhleman and Tienda (1981). Information published by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (I.N.S.) was used, along with the information contained in the study published by the Corporacion Centro Regional de Poblacion (C.C.R.P.), especially the work of Macisco and Powers. We have also used the information of the Departamento Nacional de Estadistica (D.A.N.E.) and of the Centro de Estudios de Desarrollo Economico (C.E.D.E.), of the University of the Andes, for information concerning Colombia.

2) An intermediate level, concerning the characteristics of Colombian immigrants and their participation in the New York City labor market. This information was collected by the Hispanic Research Center of Fordham University, under the direction of Dr. Douglas Gurak, in a wide-ranging and detailed work entitled, "Hispanic Migrants in New York: Work, Settlement, Adjustment." This study contained a sample of 915 persons, 60% of whom were Dominicans and 30% of whom were Colombian residing in uptown Manhattan and Queens (1). Mary Garcia Castro and I used a sub-sample of the data on Colombians in Queens (collected between June and October of 1981) given to us by Dr. Gurak. Our sample included 176 of the 260 Queens Colombian migrants to whom the questionnaire was administered. The sample consisted of 176 persons (92 women and 84 men) comprising 142 Colombian

households. With the authorization of Dr. Gurak, and after much discussion, we elaborated a special codification of approximately 15% of the questions of the Fordham University questionnaire working with a final total of 147 variables. This information was the basis of our analysis of the following socio-economic factors: the present labor market, Colombian immigrants, and occupational mobility differentiated by sex.

3) A micro level, examining Colombian families in Queens, based on in-depth interviews focusing on the following topics: Colombian women in the migration process, ideology (in terms of previous conceptions and the "daily life" of immigrants today) and levels of consciousness of the Colombian immigrants (2). This part of the analysis is explored by Mary Garcia Castro in her study.

I. GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES ON MIGRATION ANALYSIS

1. General Considerations on Migration:

Migratory flows are the product of the combination of two uneven processes: the accumulation of capital in the countries and regions that demand a labor force with certain charcteristics for the performance of certain occupations, and the conditions of the reproduction of certain strata of the labor force in the sending areas and countries. Of course, the process can occur only in relation to a differentiated structure of labor demands, by branches of activity and occupational groups, in the receiving country. Capital determines where the worker is to be found, imposing certain conditions of spatial and occupational mobility on him/her (Gaudemar, 1974). Only certain groups or segments of the potential labor force can mobilize themselves to migrate. In simple terms, only those who have an interest in the potential to migrate (placing themselves at the disposal of capital in other regions or countries), migrate. To determine who migrates, how they migrate, and the number of migrants, one must examine a combination of factors: the types of jobs (more precisely, occupations) offered in the receiving area and those sectors of the population in the sending countries with certain characteristics, such as rural or urban origin, occupational types and incomes, educational level, and social status.

This last factor never operates on the individual level, but through family groups and their strategies of participation differentiated in the labor markets, which are conditioned by the existing sexual division of labor both within and outside of the home, and the household decision-making process (3). Therefore, analysis of migration must consider these two processes in order to capture the supposed laws that explain the displacement of population groups within regions of a country or to larger societies that form part of a wider context on a global, or general scale (McLean-Petras): the circulation, or spatial mobility, of the workforce in capitalist conditions on a world scale. But this general and very abstract analysis of macro-

economic conditions is only the starting point for historical and specific analysis of concrete situations.

Secondly, we are assuming an important postulate of the theory of labor market segmentation: unlike both the conventional Neoclassical and traditional Marxist viewpoints, this theoretical framework contends that the labor supply does not interact homogeneously with the occupational structure. Work processes and the necessary conditions for capital accumulation favor the selection of certain workers over others, according to sex, educational level, age, position in the household, ethnic group, and conditions of migrants associated with different degrees of labor discipline, capacity for bargaining power, and turnover rates; in sum, those kinds of workers that guarantee capitalist efficiency under certain conditions of technological backwardness or change in certain branches of industry are selected.

2. Factors that Explain Migratory Streams from Countries on the Periphery

In our conceptual framework we suppose the existence of a demand for labor in the "core",in this case the United States that, by a series of economic and institutional factors, (4) selectively incorporates an unskilled or semi-skilled migrant labor force.

Some of these occupations in "the center" have been in a process of decay, in social and economic terms (for example, the economic activities that demand those workers are traditional ones and demonstrate low or reduced capacity to generate profits for large capital concerns). But they have also been able to continue and reappear in some sectors of the market which demand certain types of workers that, because of their low wages, permit these businesses to maintain their economic growth. This is the case in are grament industry, employing migrant and Puerto Rican women. The decay of the garment industry, like other traditional non-durable goods and durable goods industries, signifies the withdrawal of older groups of capital linked to these industries. With this, a great number of industrial jobs in these sectors in New York have disappeared, causing a change in the occupational structure for the native workforce (but also, although on a lesser scale, for migrants during the last 15 years): a rapid loss of blue collar employment (especially operative positions). Nevertheless, within the context of this larger development, since the 1970s the incorporation of new capital (small and medium) has occurred. In many cases this capital has been of Hispanic and Asian origin (Sassen-Koob 1981). Linked to their own migrant communities and based on the mechanism of "labor enclaves" Portes 1980), they directly benefit from the supply of recent arrivals, who in the great majority of cases are illegal in status, and who constitute a cheap labor force with which they are able to maintain and consolidate themselves. The global process of economic decay includes a counter-tendency, which has not been able to reverse this large phenomenon, but has contribute to process of the greater specialization in blue collar occupations of Hispanic and Asian workers. It is quite possible that this incoporation of small capital has helped to lessen the decline of industrial

employment in this city during the 70s.

Other occupations and branches of activity are not necessarily in decay, but do constitute better alternatives for investment on the small, medium, and large scales, within the context of the general tendencies of the U.S. economic structure of the 1960s and, above all, the 70s: the service sector in general, but specifically the specialized and personal services, and services such as restaurants, which satisfy the demand of middle- and upper income groups in the city (Bailey 1981).

One must keep in mind another important characteristic of the demand for certain types of workers (immigrants, men and women) in small and medium establishments in the services, industry and commerce, which link capital both from abroad and from the U.S. itself. These firms invest in labor intensive activities, permitting a realization of favorable levels of profit. That is, labor intensive employment has continued and maintained itself in various American labor markets during the 1970s. This kind of employment and activity has always existed in the American economy and has been a good base from which to incorporate the immigrant workforce since the beginning of the present century. (This is the case with the garment industry, for Jews and Italians.) The principal difference in the 1970s is that now, many of the labor markets in the U.S. tend to be less industrial and, more and more, are markets of occupations in the service industries.

In terms of the demand structure, (or from the point of view of the interests of capital) it is more or less clear that international migration not only means (in economic terms) the availability of a workforce. What is important is the availability of a workforce, as Portes well notes, that, for a period of time, can offer a lower price than the native workforce, and that in the long run can diminish wage pressures and influence labor discipline in different work processes: migrants at all levels of skills create competition among workers, and with this, the efficiency of capital is increased (5).

For workers, migration is the result of a strategy of reproduction (as a workforce) in a context with the following characteristics:

1) deterioration of real wages in the sending country or society, affecting all wage-earning groups.
2) salary differentials between the sending and receiving countries that guarantee labor reproduction in the receiving market and permit savings, for remittance to the sending country in some cases and in others for the settlement of the family in the receiving country.
3) new alternatives in economic, family, and emotional life for certain groups and categories of migrants, especially for women, in terms of a release from the patriarchal family structure (an escape)(Garcia Castro, 1979).
4) migration, for an important segment of the working population, is the principal mechanism through which entrance to the labor market is possible (women, housewives, students) and by which economic independence can be obtained.

5) migrant groups are not necessarily the poorest strata of the working population (in either a rural or urban context): they require an intial investment to leave their country (resettlement cost, savings for a period of unemployment) and a network of relatives and acquaintances already situated in the receving country in order to migrate. In fact, they can be from groups which

in the sending country, had stable jobs and remuneration levels far above the minimum wage (three or more times greater), and were in some cases protected by local social security systems. Nevertheless, an important qualification should be made for those migrants who were not in the economically active population in the sending country, particularly young people and secondary students. In this case, lower middle class migration can have a direct relationship to employment and the disillusionment with the school system as a means of achieving social mobility in the sending country. For them, the probability is very low of finding employment upon entrance in the labor market of the sending country, and as professionals, their prospective salaries are not promising. As a whole, the factor of unemployment does not operate mechanically in explaining the migratory flow: in other words, the unemployed do not necessarily migrate, nor does migration necessarily increase in periods of high unemployment. It is true, however, that some strata of the labor force, especially those not in the economically active population, do prefer to migrate and/or confront future situations of unemployment, low wages, and occupations different from those for which they have studied, rather than face unemployment, or underemployment, in the sending country.

6) nevertheless, it is also clear that migration is related to employment opportunities in the sending country in the sense that, for other segments of the labor supply, employment opportunities are relatively improved by the jobs left open by those who migrate. In this manner, migration diminishes the unemployment rate of workers in general.

7) this is closely related to the migration of the urban middle class, especially the lower middle class, in terms of the participation of certain salaried strata in the sending countries, in international consumption patterns which modify the conditions of their reproduction as part of the workforce. A series of products are uavailable for the income levels in these countries the prices of others are relatively high. In this case, one can not conceive of migration strictly as a survival strategy of the workforce, in the traditional sense as it applies to low salaried workers or poor peasant populations. It is more correctly, a strategy of social mobility (Schmink 1981) for the realization of new consumption patterns. It would be valid to consider that, for this segment of the labor force, the lower middle class, these new consumption patterns do constitute part of their reproduction costs as workers.

II. BROAD TRENDS IN COLOMBIAN MIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES AND NEW YORK CITY

The Migratory Streams and their Concentration in New York City.

Colombian migration to the United States has largely been a migration of the last twenty years, as Table 1 indicates, wherein

85.9% of the Colombian immigrants admitted to the United States (6) have entered during three more or less distinct periods: 1961 - 1965, 1966 - 1970, and 1976 - 1979. That is, the strong migratory stream of the 1960s dropped in volume during the first half of the 1970s, and then markedly increased during the last five years.

Table 1: Percentages of Total Colombian Immigrants Admitted to the U.S. by Time Periods, 1936-1979

before 1956	6.4
1956-1960	7.7
1961-1965	22.5
1966-1970	22.7
1971-1975	18.7
1976-1979	22.0
	100.0%

Sources: Immigration and Naturalization Service, U.S. Department of Justice, Annual Reports, and El éxodo de colombianos: un estudio de la corriente migratoria a los Estados Unidos y un intento para propiciar el retorno (Bogotá: Corporación Centro Regional de Población, Table V-6, 75-76.

For this reason, the great majority of Colombian migrants to the United States have lived in this country for no more than ten years, with a relatively large and important sub-group of recent arrivals (those having arrived after 1976).

On the other hand, analysis of the dynamics of Colombian migration since 1951, according to the growth index (Table 2), indicates that the period 1963-1970 was that of the greatest expansion, with a relative drop in volume until 1975, after which a resurgence of migration occurred during the years 1977-1979. These data demonstrate the existence of two migratory streams during the last twenty-one years: the first stream during the decade of the 1960s, and the second in that of the 1970s, with increasing volume during the last five years.

Table 2: Random Years in the Admission of Colombian Migrants to the U.S., 1951-1979

Year	Colombian Immigrants Admitted to the U.S.	Index
1951	750	25.0
1955	1,226	41.0
1960	2,989	100.0
1963	5,733	192.0
1965	10,885	364.2
1970	6,742	225.0
1975	6,434	215.3
1977	8,272	276.7
1979	10,637	356.0

Source: Immigration and Naturalization Service, Annual Reports.

New York City has always been the most attractive American city for Colombian migrants (CCRP 1980), as the data of the INS for the period 1966-1970 indicate. Approximately two-thirds of the Colombian migrants in the U.S. are concentrated in the New York City-Long Island-New Jersey-Connecticut area. New York City has received about 36% of the Colombian migrants legally admitted to the United States during the years 1966-1979 (also 1980, CCRP, for the period 1966-1976), and 42% of the migration to New York State. Within New York City, the Colombian immigrant population has traditionally been concentrated in the borough of Queens (Chaney, CCRP 1980) and, according to the calculations of the Department of City Planning of the City of New York, between 60% and 65% of the city's Colombian population in 1980 was concentrated in this borough (7).

Table 3: Dates of Arrival of Colombian Immigrants in New York City (Queens)

Year	Percentage	
before 1955	3.6	
1956-1965	6.3	
1966-1970	22.2	
1971-1975	25.6	
1976-1978	28.4	
1979-1980	10.2	44.3%
1981 (January-July)	5.7	

N=176
Source: Fordham University Sample of 1981

Table 3, showing the distribution of length of residence of the Colombians living in Queens indicates that 44.3% of the Colombians included in the sample arrived in New York City during the last five-and-a-half years, which corresponds to the INS data demonstrating the marked increase in the number of legally admitted Colombians to the United States since 1976. The Fordham University data are similar to those of the INS for the periods prior to the year 1970 (aside from the period prior to 1955), but differ on the percentages of on the percentages of Colombian immigrants residing in Queens during Colombian immigrants residing in Queens during the years 1971-1975 (8).

Nevertheless, it is also possible to observe a certain pattern of decreasing migration during the most recent period, the years 1979 - 1981, in spite of the fact that information for only one semester of last year has been registered. In other words, if the majority of the migrants in the Colombian sample arrived after 1976, which qualifies them as "recent migrants," then the data also suggest that there has been a decrease in the stream of migrants from Colombia to New York City, and probably to the United States, during the last three years (including 1981).

Table 4: Colombian Immigrants Admitted to the U.S. According to Major Occupational Group, 1958-1977

Year	Professional, Technical	Manager, Admin., except Farm	Sales	Clerical	Blue Collar Craftsmen	Blue Collar Operatives (Including Transport.)	Laborers, except Farm	Farm Laborers, Farm Managers	Service Workers	Private Household	Housewives, Children and Others with No occupation reported	TOTAL 100%
1958	14.3	3.2	1.4	12.6	3.8	3.9	0.7	0.3	1.0	5.0	53.7	2,891
1959	56.2	13.2	3.3	8.4	5.2	6.1	2.5	3.0	1.2	0.3	0.2	2,524
1960	11.4	3.4	1.6	11.0	4.8	5.0	0.8	0.4	2.1	7.0	52.5	2,989
1961	10.0	3.4	1.7	12.8	4.3	4.0	0.9	0.4	2.1	5.4	55.0	3,359
1962	10.4	3.3	2.2	14.0	4.3	4.9	0.8	0.6	2.3	4.9	53.3	4,391
1963	11.0	3.2	2.3	13.6	4.7	4.3	0.8	0.5	1.5	4.5	53.8	5,733
1964	8.8	3.1	1.6	9.4	4.8	3.7	0.8	0.3	1.5	4.2	61.8	10,446
1965	7.3	3.0	1.4	6.8	4.3	3.9	1.1	0.2	1.3	4.9	65.6	10,885
1966	7.6	2.7	1.3	5.2	4.9	3.4	0.8	0.3	1.1	4.9	67.8	9,504
1967	8.6	1.6	0.5	3.0	3.1	2.7	0.4	0.1	1.2	10.2	68.6	4,556
1968	10.6	1.2	0.4	4.9	11.9	3.8	0.5	0.2	2.0	10.5	54.0	6,902
1969	8.5	0.7	0.3	7.6	16.6	4.7	0.5	0.1	2.0	5.3	53.7	7,627
1970	5.8	0.5	0.3	4.9	16.3	5.7	0.3	0.0	1.1	2.5	62.6	4,724
1971	6.7	1.2	0.3	2.5	6.9	6.1	0.5	0.3	2.4	3.4	39.7	6,440
1972	7.1	1.8	0.3	2.7	4.9	6.8	0.4	0.1	3.8	2.5	67.6	5,173
1973	5.7	1.7	0.8	3.1	5.1	10.8	0.7	0.2	5.4	1.7	64.8	5,230
1974	4.8	1.8	0.8	3.9	5.6	15.6	1.3	0.6	5.1	2.1	58.4	5,837
1975	4.8	1.7	0.5	3.3	7.1	14.0	0.7	0.2	4.3	0.9	62.4	6,434
1976	4.6	1.9	0.8	2.9	6.7	13.0	0.7	0.2	3.6	1.1	64.5	5,742
1977	4.3	2.4	1.0	3.2	6.0	13.7	1.1	0.2	3.9	2.1	61.3	8,272
TOTAL	9,444	2,652	1,237	7,686	8,375	8,297	876	306	3,068	5,237	74,684	121,859
%	7.7	2.2	1.0	6.3	6.9	6.8	0.7	0.3	2.5	4.3	61.3	100.0

Sources: Cardona et. al, El éxodo de colombianos, un estudio de la corriente migratoria a los Estados Unidos y un intento para propiciar el retorno (Bogotá: Corporación Centro Regional de Población, 1980) and Immigration and Naturalization Service, Annual Report, 1977.

The most outstanding tendency is the predominance of those with occupations in the home, beginning during the years 1964-1965, when more than 60% of migration to the United States was composed of housewives and children. As was noted earlier, many in this group, which is largely composed of women, participated in the U.S. labor market but registered as housewives in order to obtain legal residency in the United States. (See Table 4.)

Until 1969, the largest economically active occupational group of Colombian migrants was the professionals and technicians, historically averaging of between 8% and 10% of total Colombian migration to the U.S. During the 1970s the proportional representation of this group dropped significantly to less than 5% of the migratory stream, and it is possible that after 1977, less than 4% of the annual Colombian immigrants belonged within this occupational category. There is only one year of great importance in terms of the migration of managers and administrators (1959), after which the percentage of those engaged in these occupations fell to less than 2%, which is the level it maintained in the 1970s. 1959 was also a year of a large migration of professionals and technicians (56.2%).

The migration of clerical workers was important until 1964, at which time there was a significant drop, until by the 1970s less than 4% of those admitted to the U.S. fell within this occupational grouping. This sharp decrease was related to the restricted opportunities for clerical employment in the North American labor market.

There was a very high proportional representation of skilled blue collar workers during three years (1968-1970) of the Colombian migration to the United States. After this short period of time the migration of skilled blue collar workers progressively decreased, but the percentage of migrants within this occupational grouping remains around 7% annually.

The strongest influx of blue collar operative workers (semi-skilled, including transportation workers) occured during the 1970s, precisely when the influx of professionals and technicians and other occupational groups fell drastically. The migration of farm workers and farm managers and foremen has not been significant. The migration of service workers (except domestic service workers) is proportionately low, although beginning in 1972, the relative importance of this group increases, indicating an expansion in the availability of this type of employment.

Until the year 1969-1970, domestic workers, especially women were a relatively important group, above all during the years 1967 - 1968, when an appreciable number of women obtained legal residency by means of this type of employment. Toward the end of the decade of the 1970s, this type of employment declined considerably. This data demonstrates two migratory phases in terms of occupational groupings, in which fictitious positions and already exercised occupations in the U.S. are combined.

A) The first phase consists of highly educated (professionals and technicians) and highly skilled migrants, employed as either white or blue collar workers, which occurred until 1969-1970, although a relatively important sub-group of skilled blue collar workers continued to migrate after 1970.

B) The migration of a second group, with lower educational levels (secondary education) and less qualifications, expanded greatly after 1970. This can be explained by the large increase of blue collar operative positions (semi-skilled) since 1970, but especially after 1973, in addition to the relative increase in the occuational group of service workers (except domestic service workers) after 1972. This change can also be observed in relation to educational level, when comparing the Fordham University data with that of the Census of 1970 (Macisco and Powers), as will be done later in this study.

3. Two Estimates Concerning the Total Colombian Population in New York City and Its Concentration in Queens

In accordance with the calculations presented in Table 5, there are two estimates concerning the total number of Colombians in the United States and in New York City in 1980, depending on the relationship of legal to illegal residents, and on the number of legal Colombian residents in New York City during 1980 (9).

Table 5: Two Hypotheses on the Total Colombian Population in the New York-New Jersey-Connecticut Metropolitan Area and in the U.S., 1980

	A - 46-50% illegal aliens	% of U.S. Colombian population	B - about 60% illegal aliens	% of U.S. Colombian population
Total Colombian Population in New York City	90,000	40%	65,000	40%
Borough of Queens (60-65%) of NYC Colombian population)	32,000		42,000	
New Jersey + Connecticut	35,000	28%	45,000	28%
New York State, New Jersey and Connecticut	85,000	68%	110,000	68%
Total in the U.S.	125,000	100%	160,000	100%

Our calculations are based on the following:

a) 26,112 registered Colombian aliens in New York City in 1980 (according to the Immigration and Naturalization Service);

b) 1,150,000 legal immigrant aliens in New York City and 850,000 undocumented aliens, for a total of 2,000,000 aliens, according to the Department of City Planning of the City of New York for 1980 (estimates based on the 1980 Census and other sources). This gives a total of 42.5% of undocumented aliens. In addition to this percentage, two more arbitraty values are proposed concerning undocumented Colombian immigrants, the first of which is slightly higher, between 45-50% (48%), and a second which is much higher, of 60% (1.5 undocumented migrants per documented migrant). These arbitraty figures are based on the possible importance of other areas of entry to the U.S. for Colombians, such as the Bahama Islands, after 1975, which could signify the existence of a segment of the Colombian population in the U.S. lacking any type of documentation. On the other hand, one must also take into account the existence of Colombians with U.S. citizenship;

c) The calculations for New Jersey and Connecticut are based on the relative weight that the number of admissions by state of residence has had during the period 1970-1979, according to the data compiled by the Immigration and Naturalization Service. The total number for the U.S. is based on indirect data derived from the relative weight of New York City and other states in relation to the total number of admissions by year during the same period.

d) The data for Queens was reported by the Department of City Planning of the City of New York (luncheon comments by Evelyn S. Mann, Director, Population Research at the conference on "Hispanic Migration to New York City: Global Trends and Neighborhood Change," New York University, December 4, 1981).

The first hypothesis suggests a minimum of 50,000 Colombians in New York City during the year 1980, and approximately 32,000 in Queens during the same year. The estimate for the entire United States is 125,000. The second hypothesis offers a maximum of 65,000 Colombians in New York City and 42,000 in Queens. Here, the total Colombian population in the United States would be approximately 160,000.

Ordonez (1981), of the Departamento Nacional de Estadistica de Colombia (DANE) calculates a maximum of 101,574 Colombians in the United States, and a minimum of 91,696 for the year 1980 (see Table 6), with a tendency to decrease in number between the years 1978 and 1980 (10) during which time the migration of Colombians to Venezuela increased. Our minimum calculation (first estimates presents a not very considerable difference of 23% in terms of the maximum calculation of Ordonez, which makes this a rather realistic projection. Nevertheless, we prefer also to include the second estimate is (with a 57% variation from that of Ordonez).

Table 6: Colombian Population Residing Outside of Colombia

	Maximum			Minimum		
Country	1978 ENH/1	1980 ENH/2	2-1	1978 ENH/1	1980 ENH/2	2-1
Venezuela	383,585	550,935	167,350	342,323	497,362	155,039
United States	107,160	101,574	-5,586	95,633	91,696	-3,937
Others	118,120	160,080	41,960	105,414	144,514	39,100
Total	608,865	812,589	203,724	543,370	733,572	190,202

1978: between 2.4% and 2.2% of Colombian emigrants on Colombian total population; 25,104,217 habitants.
1980: between 3.1% and 2.8% on Colombian total population; 26,169,665 habitants.

Source: Ordoñez, Myriam, "La Población de Colombia en 1980: Análisis de la Encuesta Nacional de Hogares." Departamento Nacional de Estadística, DANE, Marzo de 1981. Información y análisis preliminar no publicado, p. 159-161.

On the other hand, the data compiled by Ordonez, demonstrating the decreases in Colombian migration to the United States during the period 1978 - 1980 on a macrodemographic scale, lends more support to the hypothesis that we presented earlier concerning "a certain pattern of decreasing migration to the United States and New York during the most recent period, 1979 - 1981," which we observed in the Fordham University sample. According to said data, there would also seem to be more returnees than arrivals, causing a decline in the absolute number of Colombians in the United States.

Based on our second estimates, the Colombian population of New York City would represent roughly 16% of the Hispanic population of Queens, and between 4.5% and 5% of the Hispanic population of New York City, according to the preliminary results of the 1980 Census. Colombians would compose roughly 1.1% of the total 1980 Hispanic population of the United States.

Queens is the borough in New York City which has gained the greatest number of Hispanic residents during the decade 1970 - 1980, both in absolute and relative terms (Table 7), but with the exception of Staten Island, it is the borough with the least Hispanic residents in 1980 (18.7%). The relative growth of the

Hispanic population in Queens is due to the significant influence of the sub-group of Colombian migrants, along with other Hispanic sub-groups, especially Dominicans and and Ecuadorians, but also by Argentinians and Central Americans.

Table 7: Population of Spanish/Hispanic Origin or Descent New York City by Boroughs 1970 - 1980

Borough	1970	%	1980	%	Change Number	Change Percent
Total N.Y.C.	1,278,630	100.0	1,405,957	100.0	127,327	10.1
Bronx	407,322	31.9	369,730	28.2	-10,592	-2.6
Brooklyn	392,575	30.7	392,118	27.9	-457	-0.1
Manhattan	342,722	24.4	335,803	23.9	23,081	7.4
Queens	153,691	12.0	262,422	18.7	108,731	70.4
Staten Island	12,320	1.0	18,884	1.3	6,564	53.3

Source: 1970: Fourth Count (Spanish Language)

1980: Advance counts 1980 Census of Population and Housing PHC 80-V-34. "The figures in this publication are subject to change pending the outcome of the various lawsuits dealing with the Census Counts."

Prepared by: Population Research and Analysis, Human Resources Division, NYC Dept. of City Planning.

III. DEMOGRAPHIC AND EDUCATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE COLOMBIAN POPULATION IN NEW YORK(11a)

Powers and Macisco, in the CCRP study, compared the North American and Colombian populations in New York, utilizing 1970 Census data concerning distribution of population by sex, age, and schooling. They emphasized the following in their findings(11b):

1) The Colombian population in New York was younger than the New York population as a whole. Those between the ages of 25-44 were especially noteworthy, because half of the Colombian population fell into this category, while only 27% of the North American population was found in this range (Macisco and Powers 1980: 240).

2) The index showed a slightly higher percentage of females than males within both populations. Within the total New York population in 1970 there were 10 females for every 9 males; within the Colombian population, there were 10 females for every 8 males.

3) In terms of educational levels, they found that the migrant Colombians were more similar to North Americans living in New York than were other recent immigrant groups. (The CCRP study does not specifically mention those groups). In both populations, more than half had some secondary level schooling, and roughly 20% of both had attended institutions of higher learning. These figures varied when analyzed in terms of sex and age. "Colombian men, 16 years of age or older, were more educated than the total New York male population, both in terms of average completed years of schooling, and the percentage of university graduates. On the other hand, Colombian women were a little less educated than the total female population in New York in terms of the same criteria." (Marcisco and Powers 1981: 242).

The greatest volume of Colombian migrants of working age entering the U.S. occurred during the period 1958 - 1979, as can be seen in Table 8, according to data provided by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). Upon admission to the United States, 48.7% of migrants were between the ages 20 and 40 (50% of the women, and 49.6% of the men). This is in marked contrast to the age distribution of the Colombian population in 1980, in which only 29.7% were found in this age range.

Table 8 also confirms the predominance of females in the Colombian population admitted to the United States by the INS: 55% of the migrants are women, with percentages of those from 20 - 40 years of age similar to those of Colombian men, but with a significantly greater percentage of migrants 40 years of age or older, and with slightly less women under 20 years of age, than men in this age range.

Table 8: Colombian Migrants Admitted to the U.S. 1958-1979, by Sex and Age, and the Age Distribution of the Total Colombian Population, 1980 (in percentages).

	Women	Men	Both	Total Colombian Population (1980)
Lower then 10 years old	17.0	22.0	19.2%	26.3%
10-19 years old	16.7	18.0	17.3%	25.9%
20-29 years old	31.6	31.1	31.4%	18.6%
30-39 years old	18.4	18.5	18.4%	11.1%
40-49 years old	7.8	6.1	7.1%	7.5%
50 and more years old	8.5	4.3	6.6%	10.6%
Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Percent of Total	55.1%*	49.9%		

Sources: Annual Reports Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Justice, 1960-1979, and El Mercado Laboral en Colombia, República de Colombia, Departamento Nacional de Planeación, Documento DNP-UPG, División de Precios y Salarios, Bogotá, Jan. 1980, Book I, Table 2-2, page 22.

*Note: In 1967 women comprised 63.4% of the total alien population.

Distribution by sex and age: In 1970 and still in 1981, there were more female Colombian migrants than male (see Table 9). The age pyramids that range from 16 to 64 years of age are similar in form, although that representing the Colombian population of Queens is narrower at the apex than the one representing the total Colombian population of New York City. New data appear when the Colombian population residing in Queens is disaggregated according to household position, or residential unit, i.e. into informants, spouses, and other members. The proportion of young people (16-24 years of age) is quite high among married women -- 45%, and in the category of "other members" the high proportion of women over 45 years of age is noteworthy (32%). The specifications based on position within the household do not alter the general age structure of either the Colombian popula-

on living in New York City during 1970, or the population living in Queens in 1981. Indeed, they demonstrate that part of the Colombian influx can be viewed as an effort at family reunification, mediated by the participation of the different members of the household in the New York City labor market. This will be examined in detail later in this paper.

Table 9: Colombian Population in New York City (1970) and in Queens (1981) Persons from 5 to 64*Years of Age, by Sex and Age (in %)

	NEW YORK 1970									QUEENS, NY 1981							
				Informants			Spouses			Other members			Total				
** Age	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men		Women	
16-24	23.2	24.6	22.0	17.9	20.0	16.1	30.4	19.2	45.0	53.8	57.9	49.3	33.4	32.9		33.5	
25-34	61.6	64.2	59.5	44.5	47.6	41.5	48.9	51.9	45.0	17.9	11.8	13.0	36.3	39.5		33.0	
35-44				35.3	38.3	30.5	15.2	21.1	7.5	8.3	10.5	5.8	21.2	20.9		21.5	
45-64	15.2	11.2	18.5	3.5	0.4	4.3	5.4	7.7	2.5	21.4	9.2	31.9	9.1	6.7		12.0	
Non-S																	
Total	19558	8724	10834	176	82	94	92	52	40	145	76	69	413	210		203	
														57.5	60.4		54.5

*In the Fordham sample the age limit was 64 years old. Age has only been taken into consideration upto this limit.

**Age intervals designated by the CCRP team.

Source: 1970 Census Bureau, cited in CCRP; Powers and Macisco 1981 — original data, preliminaries from the Fordham

The average age of the Colombian population over fifteen years of age in New York City, according to the Fordham University Sample, is 30.5 years for males, and 32 for females. Those between 25-29 years of age predominate among males, and those between 30-39 years of age predominate among females. Male informants in the Fordham sample, nevertheless, demonstrated a bimodal age distribution, falling into the 25-29 range as much as that of 45-49 years of age. The Fordham sample included 573 persons, distributed in the following fashion: 13% were 5 years of age or younger, 15% between 6 and 14 years of age, and 72% were 15 years of age or older. The total number of households studied was 142.

Education levels: The data contained in Table 10 confirm the tendencies we inferred from Table 4, based on the statistics provided by the INS. After 1970, the migratory stream is composed of Colombians with educational levels lower than those of migrants of earlier influxes. The latter wave is comprised mostly of Colombians with secondary level education, as opposed to the former streams of university-trained migrants.

This phenomenon can also be explained in relation to the decrease in the migratory influx during the last three years. In other words, the tendency in recent years has been toward a reduction in both the selectivity of the migration in terms of educational levels and in the absolute number of immigrants, with the possibility that, in fact, there are more return migrants than arrivals, as the data compiled by Ordonez suggests (1981).

Table 10: Educational Level of the Colombian Population, 15 Years of Age or Older in New York City 1970 and Queens 1981 (%).

	Colombian Population, NYC 1970			Colombian Population, Queens 1981		
Educational Level	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females
Primary Level	29.9	25.3	33.5	24.0	17.0	31.5
Secondary Level or High School	53.1	52.1	53.8	67.0	72.3	61.5
University Level	17.0	22.6	12.7	9.0	10.7	7.0
	(20332)	(8983)	(11349)	(383)	(196)	(187)

Sources: Macisco and Powers (1981), and Fordham University Sample.

According to the Fordham data, Colombians migrating to the United States today tend to have secondary level educational backgrounds. If we examine the data in Table 10, concerning the Colombian population of New York City in 1970, in conjunction with the information on the educational level of the Colombian urban labor force provided in the 1973 Colombian Census (12) (Table 11), one can clearly see the phenomenon of educational selectivity operating until 1970. During that time period, the Colombian population of New York City had higher educational levels than the urban Colombian laboring population, for males and females. Nevertheless, after 1973 the expansion of intermediate and university education continued for the urban Colombian population, which means that the differences in the educational background of Colombian migrants in New York in 1981 and the Colombian urban workforce have decreased. Although educational levels have become lower in the second wave of migration (1970-1981), there has been a definite selectivity in terms of the occupational level compared with the urban Colombian workforce, as will be seen later.

Table 11: Educational Level of the Urban Labor Force in Colombia by Sex, 1973 (in thousands and percentages.)

	Men	%	Women	%	Both Sexes	%
Total	2928	100.0	1377	100.0	4305	100.0
Without Education	422	14.4	230	16.7	652	15.1
Primary Level	1604	54.8	686	49.8	2290	53.2
Secondary Level	740	25.3	417	30.3	1157	26.9
University Level	162	5.5	44	3.2	206	4.8

Source: Engler W., Bernardo and others, Educación y Mercado de Trabajo Urbano en Colombia: una Comparación entre Sectores Modernos y no Modernos, Corporación Centro Regional de Población, Area Socioeconómica, Bogotá, D.E. Julio de 1978, Table No. 34, Page 90.

*Population over 14 years old.

In terms of schooling, one notes slight changes in relation to the 1970 levels.

--A greater proportion of the population has had secondary level education, be it complete or incomplete. The differential is wider among men than among women. In 1981, 39% more Colombians have completed secondary education than in 1970. The increase for women was 14%.

--Slightly fewer men have only a primary educational, and

--there is a proportionately large decrease in the number of migrants with university studies. In 1981, 53% fewer Colombian males had university educations than in 1970. For women, the drop in higher education was 45%. (See Table 10).

Our hypothesis is that the New York labor market is now less attractive for those with higher education, or, that there are fewer illusions concerning the opportunities for mobility in the United States than during earlier periods. There is much discussion in the literature concerning the cumulative effect or the circular causation of migration, i.e., that earlier generations attract more migrants. Our findings lead us to believe that a different situation exists: earlier migrants can prevent the arrival of other relatives and friends by communicating their life experiences in the United States. (this was confirmed by our in-depth interviews.)

There are some differences between men and women in the Fordham sample in terms of educational level: the percentage of women completing only a primary level education is almost double that of men, and women are therefore less represented than men at the secondary level (a 10% differential) and at university level as well (3.7% less). In general, female Colombian immigrants received less schooling than their male counterparts, although men suffered more from the drop in university level education (during the period 1970-1981) than women.

Civil Status: The majority of the informants in the Fordham sample were married: 66.3% of the males and 70% of the females. The percentage of single men (26.2%) is slightly greater than that of single women (16.1%), although 13% of the women studied were divorced. These percentages reflect the existence of a consolidated family structure, which will be analyzed later.

Migratory History: As Table 12 demonstrates, 51.7% of the men and women in the sample were born in one of the four principal Colombian cities. (The percentage is slightly higher for men, 56.1% than for women, 47.3%.) Before their departure to the United States however 78.9% of Colombian immigrants resided in one of these cities (Once again the percentage for men is slightly higher than that for women.)

It is interesting to note the importance of the city of Cali, as much a city of birth as a city of residence of the Colombian migrants. Almost 30% of those studied came to the United States from Cali, and if we add to this group those from the Valle de Cauca, which is in close proximity to Cali, the total number of migrants from this urban region

comprises 33% of the sample. There is also an important medium-sized city, Pereira, from which many Colombian migrants especially women, come.

Table 12: Cities of Birth and Residence of Colombian Immigrants in NYC (in percentages)

	Males		Females		Both Sexes	
City	Birth City	Residence City	Birth City	Residence City	Birth City	Residence City
Bogotá	11.2	23.8	8.6	20.7	9.7	22.0
Medellín	13.7	16.3	8.6	13.0	10.8	14.5
Cali	22.5	27.5	19.4	30.4	21.0	29.0
Barranquilla	8.7	13.8	10.8	13.0	10.2	13.4
Sub Total	56.1	81.4	47.3	77.1	51.7	78.9
Pereira (more than 200,000 Hb)		3.8	6.5	7.6	3.4	5.8
Other Cities (more than 100,000 Hb)	12.8	6.3	5.1	5.4	8.5	5.8
Other Urban areas (between 50,000 and 100,00 hb)	22.4	5.0	33.6	6.3	28.4	5.8
Valle del Cauca Cities (between 50,000 and 100,000 hb)	8.7	3.8	7.5	3.3	8.0	3.5
	100.0 N=80	100.0	100.0	100.0 92		100.0 172

Source: Fordham University Sample

There is a significant difference in the percentages representing place of birth and place of residence before migration to the United States. Of both men and women in the sample, 37% were born in small l cities (fewer than 100,000 inhabitants) or medium-sized cities, but only 5.8% lived in these cities immediately before their departure to the United States. In other words, one can clearly see in Table 13 an impressive internal migration process, in which migrants move from small- and medium-sized cities to the four principal Colombian cities, especially to Bogota.

Therefore, a large percentage of Colombian immigrants in the sample have experienced inter-urban migration in Colombia. 51.3% of the male informants and 43% of the female informants resided in more than two places in Colombia before migration to the United States (13). The majority of the other informants in the sample lived in one of the four largest Colombian cities before migration to the U.S. This obviously pertains to the younger migrants, those ranging from 25-30 years of age.

Age Upon Arrival in U.S.: Table 13 demonstrates that 40.7% of the male informants in the sample arrived in the United States when they were between the ages of 20 and 24, and 54% of the males were between 15 and 24 years of age. However, the main subgroup of female informants were older than males upon arrival in the United States; 29.7% of the women arrived when they were between the ages of 25 and 29, while 40.7% arrived between the ages of 25 and 34 years. In addition, 11% of female informants were older than 35 when they migrated. This indicates that a great number of married women with children migrated to the U.S. (keeping in mind that 14% of the women were either divorced or widows).

Table 13: Age of Colombian Immigrants upon arrival in the U.S. (in percentages). (Only interviewed informants of 15 years and older).

Age	Males	Females
15 years old	6.2	5.5
15-19	13.6	20.9
20-24	40.7	22.0
25-29	24.7	29.7
30-34	13.6	11.0
35-39	1.2	7.7
40-44		3.3
	100.0	100.0
	N=81	91

Source: Fordham University Sample.

Differences between the sexes in age upon arrival are therefore conditioned by family history (the life cycle), but above all, for women, by the dynamic of marriage before migration. As has been noted in other studies (CCRP 1981, and Garcia Castro 1981), the migration of women over the ages of 30 and 35 is, besides a means to alternative occupational opportunities (for example, for those who were housewives in Colombia), a search for new affective relationships and lifestyles. This point will be analized in greater detail in the study on women by Garcia Castro.

Nevertheless, what we are stressing here is the participation in the Colombian labor supply in New York (and by extension, in the United States) of an important subgroup differentiated by sex and by age upon arrival, in which women tend to be older than men, and which, along with other variables, explains to a great extent the different patterns of entry to the labor market demonstrated by female Colombian immigrants in the U.S. Above all, this helps to explain the patterns of occupa-ional tional mobility experienced by Colombian women, which are so markedly different from those experienced by their male counterparts.

IV SOCIOECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE COLOMBIAN POPULATION

Occupational Groups and Economic Activities of Colombian Immigrants in Country of Origin and in New York: Tables 14 and 15 clearly establish the pattern of selectivity of Colombian migrants within the urban population of Colombia.

A great majority of the Colombian migrants in New York came from urban areas in their home country. When we compare occupational data on these migrants at the time of migration with that of urban Colombians who have not migrated, we find striking increase in two extremely different occupational categories. At the upper levels of occupational categories, 60.3% of the migrants had had white collar occupations in Colombia, while only 43% of the urban to 12.6% in Colombia). The same holds true for clerical and sales the information further, we find almost twice as many migrants as urban Colombians in professional, technical, and managerial occupations at the time of migration (23.6% of the migrants, as opposed to 12.6% of all urban Colombians). At the other extreme, only 38.6% of the migrants were employed in blue collar occupations the time of migration, compared with 55.6% of the urban Colombian population as a whole.

The differences are actually more pronounced. Many migrants came prior to 1972-74, when white collar occupations were a smaller portion of the Colombian labor market than they are today. Thus, the occupational selectivity is somewhat greater than that shown an by the data. This is not only a predominantly urban migration, but one with a large subgroup of white collar workers. Our most disaggregated data and those of the INS also demonstrate a similar disproportionate representation of skilled blue collar workers among migrants.

On the other hand, observation of the occupations of Colombian migrants in New York (Table 14) presents a tendency completely contrary to the one we have been examining. When we look at Colombian migrants living in Queens, find a doubling in in blue collar and service occupations when we compare their present economic activities with those they were engaged in prior to migration (76% vs. 38.6%). In addition, there is a sharp decrease in white collar occupations (from 60.3% to 24.1%) among our informants. (Note the subgroup of professionals, technicians, and managers.)

Therefore, comparison of the Colombian immigrants' present occupations with those of the Colombian urban population in 1980 demonstrates that the immigrants' prior occupational selectivity in Colombia has been converted in the United States into an overrepresentation in blue collar and service worker occupations. This disproportionate representation can clearly be seen in the fact that

76% of the Colombian migrants in New York City are employed in blue collar and service occupations, while only 55.6% of the urban Colombian population held these occupations.

Table 14: Occupational Distribution of Colombian Urban Population (1980), Past Occupations of Colombian Immigrants in Colombia, and Present Occupations of Colombian Immigrants in New York City (1981)—(In Percentages).

	Colombian Urban Household Interview (7 cities) EH 28* (Sept. '80)		Occupation in Colombia of Colombian Immigrants in Fordham Univ. Sample.		Occupation of Colombian Immigrants in the U.S.--Fordham Univ. Sample (Queens).	
Professionals and Technicians	10.2%	12.6	23.6%	60.3	4.7%	12.4
Managers	2.4%	42.9			7.7%	24.1
Clerical	12.5%	30.3	36.7%		6.2%	11.7
Sales	17.8%				5.5%	
Blue Collar (all)	36.3%	55.6	25.4%	38.6	51.4%	75.9
Service Workers	19.3%		13.2%		24.5%	
Farm Workers	1.5%		1.0%			
Total	100.0%		100.0%		100.0%	

Sources: Ayala, Ulpiano: Comparaciones Intertemporales de Estadísticas sobre Fuerza Laboral, Informe de Investigación Presentado al Proyecto sobre Migraciones Laborales de la OIT y el Ministerio de Trabajo; CEDE, Centro de Estudios sobre Desarrollo Económico, Universidad de los Andes, Bogotá, Colombia, Agosto de 1981; Tables No. 35, 36, 37; Fordham University Sample; and Year Book of Labour Statistics, 1981, ILO, page 204.

Table 15 demonstrates this phenomenon more clearly, as it shows type of employment by branch of activity. The Colombian migrants were principally employed in Colombia in the professional and specialized service sector (governmental and private services, Services A). 36% of the migrants, both male and female, were employed in this sec- although more males (almost 40%) than females worked in this sector. The second most important sector was that of "trade," eating and drinking places, with a total of 34%, although women were more often employed here (41.7%) than men. The manufacturing sector was third in importance, with an almost equal participation of the sexes, at a total percentage of 22.6%. Only 6.6% of the migrants had been employed in the personal services sector (Services B, including cleaning, security, hotel/motel, and repair work).

It is interesting to note that there is a relatively similar distribution of employment by branch of industry only in the manufacturing sector (25.6% of the urban Colombian population and 22.6% of the Colombians who migrated to New York). This also holds true for distribution by sex in this sector. This could mean that there is a subgroup of migrants in New York with distribution patterns

of manufacturing employment more or less similar to those found in certain urban areas in Colombia. This is not to say that the industrial workers in Colombia and those in the United States are one and same. Indeed, they are very different, as will be seen later.

Table 15: Distribution of Colombian Urban Population (1980) by Branches of Industry and Sex, Past Occupations of Colombian Immigrants in Colombia, and Their Present Occupation in New York City (1981)-(In Percentages).

		Colombian Urban Household Interview (7cities) EH28 (*)	Branch of Industry of Occupation in Colombia: Fordham University Sample	Branch of Industry of present Occupation of Colombian Immigrants Fordham Univ. Queens Sample (**)
Manufacturing Goods	Total	25.6	22.6	36.2
	Women	24.6	22.9	55.1
	Men	26.3	22.4	25.1
Services A	Total	13.5	35.8	21.7
	Women	8.5	31.2	20.5
	Men	16.8	39.6	22.4
Services B	Total	28.0	6.6	23.4
	Women	42.2	4.2	16.8
	Men	19.3	8.6	27.3
Trade, eating, and drinking	Total	23.8	34.0	18.6
	Women	23.3	41.7	7.4
	Men	24.0	27.6	25.1
Others (construction mining + agriculture)	Total	9.0	1.0	
	Women	1.6		
	Men	13.6	1.8	
		100.0	100.0	100.0
		100.0	100.0	100.0
		100.0	100.0	100.0

* September 1980 **June-October 1981

Sources: Ayala Ulpiano: Comparaciones Intertemporales de Estadísticas sobre Fuerza Laboral, Informe de Investigación Presentado al Proyecto sobre Migraciones Laborales de la OIT y el Ministerio de Trabajo; CEDE, Centro de Estudios sobre Desarrollo Económico, Universidad de los Andes, Bogotá, Colombia, Agosto de 1981, Tables No. 35, 36, 37; Fordham University Sample; and Year Book of Labour Statistics, 1981, ILO, page 204.

In other sectors, however, the changes are more pronounced: Services A and Services B, "trade," eating, and others. It is here that one finds the migratory selectivity in terms of employment in Colombia, for both male and female migrants in New York.

A very interesting process of differentiation and specialization can be observed in the present employment of the Colombian immigrants living in New York. The largest group in the distribution of employment is that of industrial workers (36.2%), which is comprised mainly of women (55.1%).

In our sample, there is a subgroup of 21.7% employed in Services A, in which both sexes are represented fairly evenly. Although participation in this branch of activity less in New York than it had been in Colombia (21.7% in New York, as opposed to 36% in Colombia), the employment in this sector is still higher than that of the urban Colombian population as a whole. In this light, one must note the high percentage of women in New York in Services A (20.5%) as opposed to the quite low percentage of women in this sector in Colombia (8.3%).

The subgroup found in Services B (second in importance with 23.4% of the Colombian migrants in New York) is most important for men, and third in importance for women. This group is mainly composed of service workers. Note that few of the migrants were in this sector in Colombia (6.6%), which employed 28% of the urban population. (For women the percentage was even higher 42.2%).

The fourth group, "trade" and eating and drinking places (18.6%), has similar distribution patterns for men, but very different ones for women. Fewer women (7.6%) in New York are employed in this sector than in Colombia, where the percentage of female employment in these areas was 42%, and the percentage for the urban population as a whole was 23%.

Immigration and Urban Unemployment in Colombia: Although the average unemployment rate for the period 1974-1980 in Colombia was 10%, and the rate of underemployment for the years 1974-1979 was 15% (14), not a single instance of unemployment in Colombia was registered in the Fordham University sample, for either men or women. This has been cross-checked in our in-depth interviews with various Colombian families in Queens. In addition, the jobs held in Colombia that were reported in the Fordham University questionnaire cannot be considered examples of "underemployment." Through our interviews we found that the great majority of Colombian immigrants worked in the so-called "modern, or formal, sector of the economy" in Colombia. They worked 45-hour weeks, with decent salaries and benefits regular contracts, etc., in both the private (15) and public sectors.

Earnings and Cost of Living of Colombian Immigrants in Colombia: As was observed in prior analysis, a large group of the migrants who had participated in the labor market held white collar occupations, and in some cases were skilled blue collar workers. During the month of July 1981, the range of earnings for intermediary level salaried positions in both the white and skilled blue collar occupations in Colombia was from 300 to 600 dollars monthly (16). The cost of living for a family of five in the category "empleados" or white collar occupations (according to DANE) was between $600 and $700 monthly, or between $7,200 and $8,400 annually.

In relation to the behavior of real wages in Colombia, the data presented in Table 16 indicate, for those in blue collar occupations an increase in real wages during the period 1963-1970, and a marked decrease between 1971-1977, with a slow recuperation during the last three years. On the other hand, the real minimum wage tended to fall during the entire time period in question (with a rather insignificant recuperation toward the end of this period). The difference between the "minimum wage" and the "blue collar wage" tended to widen during this period as well (the wages of the former being daily wages, and those of the latter hourly wages). In addition, "real wages" for those employed in the manufacturing sector

(for both white and blue collar occupations) demonstrated a similar tendency: an increase until the year 1970, and then a sharp drop, with a very insignificant recuperation during the years 1978-1980, which did not reach the levels held during the years 1970-1972.

Table 16: Evolution of Real Wages in Colombia during the 60s and 70s.

Year	Blue Collar Real Wages (per hour) (in 1963 Pesos)	Real Minimum Wage (per day) (in 1963 Pesos)	Real Wages per Person in Manufacturing (in 1968 Pesos)*
1963	2.89	14.0	
1964	3.03	12.9	
1965	2.95	11.29	
1966	2.97	10.02	
1967	3.06	9.36	
1968	3.17	8.80	22.768
1969	3.19	9.05	22.868
1970	3.51	9.49	29.903
1971	3.50	8.20	26.397
1972	3.33	8.49	23.962
1973	3.03	7.43	21.665
1974	2.75	6.38	20.793
1975	2.87	5.86	21.346
1976	2.73	4.89	21.021
1977	2.54	4.46	19.802
1978	3.28	4.49	21.336
1979	4.41	4.51	22.371
1980	5.8	4.75	23.364

*Including white collar categories

Sources: "The Weakness of the Colombian Labor Market," Edward C. Epstein, Dept. of Political Science, University of Utah, Salt Lake City. A paper prepared for presentation at the meetings of the Southwest Labor Studies Association, May 1-2, 1981, in Alburquerque, New Mexico, Tables VI and VIII, and Economic Survey of Latin American: Colombia, Annual Reports, United Nations.

In addition, DANE reported in 1980 that the number of income earners per urban household in Colombia had increased (from 1.56 in 1974 to 2 per household in 1980), which must of necessity be related to the decrease in real wages that occurred in Colombia during the decade of the 1970s. These tendencies have prompted some business entities to call the decade of the 1970s the years of "the proletarianization of the Colombian middle class" (according to Ernesto

Samper Pizano, president of the National Association of Financial Institutions (ANIF), Bogota, 1980. We will examine this in greater detail later.

This information concerning the occupations of the immigrants in Colombia, and on the decrease in earning levels during the 1970s, is useful in understanding the economic context in which the second wave of Colombian migration took place (1970s). The earlier wave, composed of those with much higher educational levels, seems to have been determined by quite different economic conditions (17).

V DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIOECONOMIC COMPOSITION OF MIGRANT COLOMBIAN HOUSEHOLDS (18)

Findings: Our sample is basically composed of informants who live conjugally others (61% of the male informants, and 65.6% of the female informants). Of the total interviewed, only 9.7% lived in domestic units (households) whose members were not related. The The number of females heads of household was twice that of men (see Table 17). These women comprise 14% of the total female population of the study, which, in or judgement, is quite important. Females as single heads of households are low on the socioeconomic scale, since they lack that since they lack that household member traditionally considered as the principal "breadwinner," the husband (19).

Table 17: Position of the Informant within the Household by Sex (in percentages).

Position within the Household	Sex of the Informant: Men No.	Men %	Women No.	Women %	Both Sexes No.	Both Sexes %
Single head of Household	6	7.5	13	14.0	19	11.0
Head of Household, with Spouse.	49	61.3	3	3.2	52	30.0
Wife	—	—	62	65.6	62	35.8
Other Member (son, daughter, mother, father...)	14	17.5	10	10.8	24	13.5
No Head of Household (group of friends)	11	13.7	6	6.5	17	9.7
Total	80	100.0	93	100.0	173	100.0

Source: Fordham University Sample, November 1981.

Table 18 clearly demonstrates the predominance of the nuclear family among the 142 households in the sample. The second largest group is that of households comprised of friends or distant relatives (16.2%). Unmarried women living with their children are the third most important group (13.4%). The smallest group (7.0%) is that of individuals or fathers living with their children.

Table 18: Demographic Characteristics of the Colombian Household (in percentages).

Demographic Characteristics	%
Mother and Children (no Husband)	9.9
Mother and Children plus other family members (no Husband)	3.5
Nuclear Families (mother, father, and children)	63.4
Household composed of friends and/or distant relatives	16.2
Household composed of single individuals, and of fathers with children	7.0
	100.0 (142)

Source: Fordham University Sample.

Table 19 provides the distribution (in percentages) of children 5 years of age or younger living in Colombian migrant households, according to the sex and household position of the informant. Roughly 44% of the informants live in households with one or more children in this age range. As one can observe in Table 19, it is highly probable that these children are found in homes with married parents. In sum, the demographic characteristics of Colombian households presented here lead one to conclude that most Colombian households are nuclear in structure and are stable units.

Table 19: Distribution of Children 5 years of age or younger in Colombian Immigrant Households according to sex and Household Position of Informant (in percentages).

Number of Children 5 years of age or younger in Colombian Household.	Sex and Position within Household of Informant (%)							
	Females				Males			
	Head of household	with husband	other member	group of friends	head of household	with wife	other member	group of friends
0 Persons	69.2	52.8	87.5	100.0	80.0	42.5	90.0	100.0
1 Person	23.1	34.0	12.5	—	20.0	37.5	10.0	—
2 Persons	7.7	10.3	—	—	—	17.5	—	—
3 or more Persons	—	2.9	—	—	—	2.5	—	—
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Fordham University Sample.

We have used this last variable -- number of children 5 years of age or younger -- as an indicator of the domestic responsibilities of the women in the sample. This factor conditions the type of participation women can exercise in the labor market. This is examined in greater detail in the study on women, along with the phenomenon of Colombian households in which children of 5 years of age or younger reside in Colombia, and not in New York (Garcia Castro 1982).

Socio-Economic Characteristics of Colombian Households in New York City:

1. Rates of Labor Market Participation and Dependency

Table 20, and Table 21, show the following

A) The number of persons per household is lower in the Colombian immigrant population (NYC 1981), 4 per household, than the mean number found in urban Colombian families in 1980 (5.06). However, the average number of persons per Colombian household in New York City as a whole is significantly higher than the average provided by the 1980 Census for Queens (2.63). Therefore, Colombian households in Queens are intermediary in size between those of urban Colombia, and New York City as a whole.

Table 20: Persons per Household and Labor Market Participation by Sex of Colombian Urban Population in 1980 and of Colombian Immigrants in New York City in 1981

	Colombian Urban Household Interview (7 cities) September 1980 EH28	Fordham University New York Queens sample (June-Oct. 1981)	City Census 1980
Number of persons per household			
mean	5.06	3.98- 4	2.63ee
median	—	3.8	—
Women as % of total population	53.5	53.4*	—
Working age population (%) both sexes	52.5	71.7%	—
Economically active population			
total (%)	53.8	77.5%	—
women (%)	38.5	62.7%	—
men (%)	72.0	91.4%	—

* According to Immigration and Naturalization Service data, the accumulated percentage of women in the total Colombian population in the U.S. was 55.1%. The Fordham datum on women as a percentage of the total population is only for the informant population of the sample, who were 15 years of age or older.

ee Persons per household in Queens, "Supplementary Reports, 1980," in Census of Population PC80-S1-2, Population and Households by States and Counties: 1980." U.S. Census Bureau.

Note: The economically active population rate is the percentage of the population in the labor market (employed and unemployed) compared to the total population of working age. There is a difference between Colombian and U.S. data — in Colombia the working age is between 12 and 60 years of age.

Source: Ayala, "Comparaciones intertemporales de estadísticas sobre fuerza laboral," in Informe de Investigación Presentado al Proyecto sobre Migraciones Laborales de la OIT y el Ministerio de Trabajo. Centro de Estudios sobre Desarrollo Económico, Universidad de los Andes, Bogotá. August, 1981. Table 16. And the Fordham University Sample.

Table 21: Mean Number of Dependents and Income Earners per Household of Colombian Urban Population (1974 and 1980) and Colombian Immigrants in NYC (1981).

	EH 74 (Urban Mean)	EH 80 (Urban Mean)	Fordham University Sample in Queens
Persons per Household	5.6	5.06	3.98 4.0
Number of dependents per Household	3.8	3.06	2.0
Dependency Rate per Household	71.0	60.4	50.0
Income Earners per Household	1.56	2.0	1.98 2.0

Source: Ayala, Ulpiano, Op. Cit.; Selovsky, Marcelo, Who Benefits from Government Expenditure, A Case Study of Colombia; and Fordham University Sample.

B) In contrast to the percentage of working age persons in the urban Colombian population (52.5%), the percentage of those of working age in the Colombian immigrant community in New York is quite high, 71.7%. This is reflected in the sharp drop in the number of dependents within the Colombian population living in the United States (Table 21). Nevertheless, during the period 1974-1980, the same tendency was in operation within the urban Colombian population; the number of dependents per household dropped from 3.8 to 3.06 redundant indeed, the size of the household itself decreased (Table 21).

C) Although the number of income earners per household is the same for both the Colombian immigrants in New York and the urban Colombian population in 1980, (2 persons per household), Colombian households in New York City are smaller than those in Colombia (4 persons). This fact does, however, reveal the great similarity between the behavior of the labor supply in both Colombia and New York in terms of the number of household members participating in the labor market, (Table 21).

D) The rate of labor market participation of migrants in our sample is quite high (77.5%, Table 20), as opposed to the overall rate found in the urban Colombian population (53.8%). The rate of female labor market participation increased from 38.5% in Colombia (1980, Table 20),while 62.7% of our New York female sample have paid employment. The rate for men in our sample is 91.4%, while in Colombia, the overall rate is 72%. One can infer that women have experienced a much more radical increase in labor market participation than men as a result of the migration process.

This data, along with that of Table 22 concerning the number of members contributing to household maintenance costs according to the position of the informants within the household and sex, clearly demonstrates that Piore's concept of "target earners" (Poire 1979) operates more on the household than on the individual level. That is, one must qualify his hypothesis by viewing target earning in terms of household groups, and not in terms of individual earners. We would call this "target earner households."

Table 22: Number of Persons Contributing to Household Maintenance Costs per Household, by Position of Informant in the Household.

Number of Persons Contributing to Household Maintenance Costs	Position of Informant in Household, by Sex							
	Females				Males			
	head of household*	with husband	other member	group of friends	head of household	with wife	other member	group of friends
0	15.4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1	23.1	35.8	50.0	50.0	60.0	37.5	10.0	—
2	38.5	45.0	—	50.0	40.0	42.5	60.0	57.1
3	23.1	17.0	37.5	—	—	12.5	10.0	42.9
4 to 6	—	2.2	12.5	—	—	7.5	20.0	—
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

*Welfare recipients.

Source: Fordham University Sample

2. Occupational Structure and Branches of Economic Activity:

We here analyze the types of participation in the labor market by different socio-demographic subgroups of the Colombian immigrant population, focusing on their occupations and the branch of economic activity in which they are employed. Our analysis is based on the present occupations in the New York labor market held by different household members in the Fordham University sample, (June-October 1981) (22).

Table 23 presents the households in the sample according to their socio-demographic characteristics and by occupational groups. Table 24 demonstrates the relationship among households according to occupational groups and branches of economic activity.
It is clear that the majority of the households in our sample are complete family units (mother, father and children), and, in terms of occupational group are blue collar homes (35.2%). Therefore, the principal subgroup in the sample is composed of complete families in blue collar occupations (23.2%).

Table 23: Colombian Households by Sociodemographic Characteristics and Major Occupational Groups in New York City (1961)

	White Collar	Blue Collar	Service Worker Household	White, Blue Collar Service Worker Household	Blue Collar Service Worker Household	Dependent Households	Row Total
Household Mother and Children	2 14.3 10.0 1.4	6 42.9 12.0 4.2	1 7.1 3.7 0.7	1 7.1 9.1 0.7	2 14.3 6.7 1.4	2 14.3 50.0 1.4	14 9.9
Household Mother, Children and Other Family Member	2 40.0 10.0 1.4	0 0.0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0 0.0	1 20.0 9.1 0.7	2 40.0 6.7 1.4	0 0.0 0.0 0.0	5 3.5
Mother, Father and Children	13 14.4 65.0 9.2	33 36.7 66.0 23.2	20 22.2 74.1 14.1	7 7.8 63.6 4.9	16 17.8 53.3 11.3	1 1.1 25.0 0.7	90 63.4
Household of Friends and Distant Relatives	1 4.3 5.0 0.7	9 39.1 18.0 6.3	1 4.3 3.7 0.7	2 8.7 18.2 1.4	9 39.1 30.0 6.3	1 4.3 25.0 0.7	23 16.2
Single Male Parent with Children	2 20.0 10.0 1.4	2 20.0 4.0 1.4	5 50.0 18.5 3.5	0 0.0 0.0 0.0	1 10.0 3.3 0.7	0 0.0 0.0 0.0	10 7.0

Source: Fordham University Survey

The second most important socio-demographic group is that of households composed of friends and distant relatives (16.2%), and in terms of household occupational groups, the second most important is that in which blue collar and service workers are combined. The occupational group third in importance is that of service worker (19%). The combination of complete families with these last two household occupational types provides the other subgroups with important percentages in the total sample: complete families in service occupations (14.1%) and those which are combined with blue collar occupation (11.3%).

White collar households comprise the fourth most important group, with 14.1% of the total. Complete white collar families are 9.2% of the total.

Households composed of friends and distant relatives are concentrated in blue collar activities (39.1% within this household type, and 6.3% of the total households) and in households combining blue collar and service worker occupations (the same percentages apply).

Households composed of mothers and children lacking the support of other members (9.9%) are 43% blue collar, and all other occupations combined for this group equal about 43% as well. Included in this group are two households without employed mothers (14.0%).

Households composed of mothers and children and other members (only 3.5%) are concentrated in white collar activities and in the

combination of both blue collar and service worker occupations with white collar occupations. This explains why this socio-demographic group receives the highest levels of nominal remuneration. (This will be examined in further detail later). Households composed of individuals and fathers and children (7%) are concentrated in service, blue and white collar occupational activities.

Our sample, then, is composed largely of complete families, but also of households headed by single mothers and single fathers, and of groups of friends, which are principally found in blue collar and service occupations, and a combination of the two held by different members of the household. White collar households are fourth in importance in the sample. Differentiation in rates of remuneration of Colombian households is mainly based on the occupational differentiation and levels of labor market participation experienced by these households.

Table 24 provides the principal socio-economic levels of the Colombian households in the sample: the most important group is those employed in blue collar occupations in the manufacturing sector (22.5%), followed by service workers employed in the service sector and in "trade" (14.1%). The third most important group of households combines blue collar and service worker activities in the manufacturing, trade, and service sectors (13.4%). In fourth place are those with blue collar occupations in industry, services, and commerce (6.3%). These subgroups comprise 56% of the total sample.

Table 24: Colombian Households by Occupational Group and Activity Branch in NYC (1981).

Type of Household	Salaried in manufacturing	Salaried in industry-service-commerce	Salaried in service-commerce other	Salaried and small business	Other combination	Dependent household	Total
White Collar	1 5.0 2.9 0.7	7 35.0 16.3 4.9	8 40.0 17.8 5.6	3 15.0 27.3 2.1	1 5.0 25.0 0.7	0 0.0 0.0 0.0	20 14.1
Blue Collar	32 64.0 91.4 22.5	9 18.0 20.9 6.3	7 14.0 15.6 4.9	1 2.0 9.1 0.7	1 2.0 25.0 0.7	0 0.0 0.0 0.0	50 35.2
Service Worker	0 0.0 0.0 0.0	4 14.8 9.3 2.8	20 74.1 44.4 14.1	1 3.7 9.1 0.7	2 7.4 50.0 1.4	0 0.0 0.0 0.0	27 19.0
White-Blue Collar Service Worker	2 18.2 5.7 1.4	4 36.4 9.3 2.8	2 18.2 4.4 1.4	3 27.3 27.3 2.1	0 0.0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0 0.0	11 7.7
Blue Collar and Service Worker	0 0.0 0.0 0.0	19 63.3 44.2 13.4	8 26.7 17.8 5.6	3 10.0 27.3 2.1	0 0.0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0 0.0	30 21.1
Dependent	0 0.0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0 0.0	4 100.0 100.0 2.8	4 2.8
Total	35 24.6	43 30.3	45 31.7	11 7.7	4 2.8	4 2.8	142 100.0

Source: Fordham University Sample, November 1981.

Three other important household subgroups are those composed of white collar workers in the service sector and in commerce (5.6%); blue collar - service workers in the service sector and commerce (5.6%); and white collar salaried workers in industry, services, and commerce (4.9%).

None of the remaining 28 subgroups constitute more than 3% of the total. The members of these households are found in manufacturing, service, and trade sectors, and occupations of members of the households are distributed among these three main sectors. This seems to be the strategy of labor market participation of these small subgroups.

VI COLOMBIAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE U.S. AND THE NEW YORK LABOR FORCE

The purpose of this chapter is to establish the employment characteristics of the Colombian community in New York City in relation to other groups in the labor force, especially Hispanics, and to the changing tendencies of the employment structure in New York City during the past 20 years.

Our analysis of the occupations of the Colombian community in Queens provides a limited approximation of the kinds of linkages to the labor market that this group experiences, and does so only from the supply point of view. We will attempt to explain these forms of linkage in more detail, and also on the macro level, through the aid of supplementary materials concerning other groups in the labor supply and employment in this city. Above all, we hope to understand the role played by the second wave of Colombian immigrants in the New York labor markets in terms of the profound changes in labor demand that have taken place in New York since the 1960s, although in some specific industries, such as the garment industry, these transformations have their origins in earlier periods (23).

In a certain sense, one must ask who the Colombians are in the employment structure of this city, in terms of their jobs, branches of economic activity, rates of labor market participation, earnings and salaries, and unemployment rates. Of course, we are not implying that Colombian immigrants are unique in their relation to the New York market. On the contrary, we are looking for the similarities and differences between Colombians and other Hispanics that have recently entered the New York labor market of the 1970s (in the case of Colombians, this means the second migratory stream), and how their relationship to the labor market affects occupations and earnings.

Finally, we think that the theory of the segmented labor market provides an adequate framework in which to view labor market insertion and occupational mobility. However, we feel that, in order to capture fully the dynamics of the segmented labor market, one must also focus on differentiation according to sex.

The Evolution of the Employment Structure in New York City: Tables 25, 26, and 27 demonstrate, for different periods up to and including 1980, the evolution of the employment structure in the garment industry, the manufacturing sector, and in the service sector (in which privately run hospitals are used as an example) in New York State and New York City. Information in these tables not

only includes the data generated by the Household Interviews on Employment (U.S. Labor Dept., Tables 26 & 28, and Graph #1), but also that by the Census of Industries (Tables 25 & 27). The following general tendencies can be stated, based on these tables:

A) Industrial employment has been in decline during the period 1965-1981, particularly in the garment industry. In 1965, industrial employment accounted for 27% of total employment in New York City, while in 1970 it accounted for 24.3%, and in 1980, only 18.3% (Table 28). Employment in the subgroup "apparel and kindred products" fell from 7.4% in 1965 to 5.1% in 1980. However, the service sector increased from 21.1% in 1965 to 28% in 1975. In 1980 service sector employment accounted for 33.2% of total employment in this city.

Table 25: Employment in Women's and Children's Apparel Industries in the Counties of New York Metropolitan Area and New York City, 1947 and 1956 (in thousands).

	1947	1956
New York Metropolitan Area	261,150	259,803
New York City	208,398	196,197

(Excluding other accessory and complementary industries)

Source: Made in New York, Case Studies in Metropolitan Manufacturing, Max Hall, editor. Women's and Children's Apparel (by Ray B. Helfgott); pages 74,76. Harvard University Press, 1959.

In 1965 the manufacturing sector far outweighed the service sector in importance, but after 1970 this relationship was reversed. (Table 26)

Table 26: Employees on Manufacturing and Services Payrolls for NYS and NYC, 1965-1981 (in thousands).

Years	Manufacturing Goods		Apparel and other Textile products		Services		Hospitals (non-governmental)	
	NYS	NYC	NYS	NYC	NYS	NYC	NYS	NYC
1965	1.838.1	865.1	291.4	241.3	1.138.4	681.1	160.7	—
1966	1.894.5	863.7	288.8	238.0	1.180.9	700.4	168.2	87.8
1967	1.885.7	846.7	281.3	231.5	1.233.2	727.2	180.8	94.3
1968	1.879.0	840.0	279.1	229.3	1.274.4	747.9	191.4	98.8
1969	1.870.8	825.8	272.8	223.5	1.328.8	779.8	201.1	104.0
1970	1.760.6	766.0	249.2	203.9	1.360.8	785.8	210.1	109.3
1971	1.633.5	702.2	232.2	191.3	1.371.7	771.9	218.2	114.3
1972	1.602.2	675.8	224.7	185.4	1.404.0	779.7	222.9	116.6
1973	1.619.1	652.8	218.6	180.4	1.438.0	789.2	226.3	118.0
1974	1.574.6	602.1	198.5	162.6	1.452.7	784.2	231.1	118.6
1975	1.421.9	536.9	180.8	148.4	1.446.7	770.6	237.5	120.5
1976	1.438.9	541.1	186.0	153.2	1.462.7	769.1	239.7	119.4
1977	1.459.6	538.6	184.5	152.7	1.499.8	783.5	240.5	118.7
1978	1.481.2	532.1	184.7	152.8	1.568.6	816.7	243.0	118.4
1979	1.492.8	518.5	177.7	146.7	1.668.0	860.7	246.5	119.6
1980	1.451.1	498.7	170.0	140.2	1.760.1	904.7	250.8	120.9
1981 (Oct.)	1.439.7	487.8	165.2	136.3	1.778.0	923.0	——	——

Sources: Employment and Earnings,, States and Areas, 1969-1981, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1969-81—several years—, and BLS-NLS 790 Monthly Report on Employment, Hours and Earnings for NYS, NYC. November 1981.

B) The relative weight of New York State, New York City, and the New York-New Jersey S.M.S.A. declined greatly in relation to total industrial employment in the United States during the years 1967-1977 (Table 27).

Table 27: Historical Statistics of Manufacturing Establishments and Industrial Employment in New York State, New York City, and New York SMSA.

	1967 (Census)			1972 (Census)			1977 (Census)		
	Establishments	All Employees (thousands)	% (*)	Establishments	All Employees (thousands)	%	Establishments	All Employees (thousands)	%
New York State	42,911	1,929.3	10.0	38,300	1,679.3	8.8	36,578	1,509.9	7.7
New York City	28,945	887.6	8.6	———	751.9	3.9	21,336	605.0	3.0
New York, New Jersey, SMSA	45,894	1,147.4	6.0	41,689	949.2	5.0	25,831	796.6	4.1

(*)Percent of US Manufacturing Employment (percentage)

Source: Manufacturing Census 1967, 1972, 1977.

Table 28: Manufacturing and Services Employment in New York City 1965-1980 as a Percentage of Total Employment(in percentages).

	1965	1970	1975	1980
Manufacturing Goods	27.0	24.3	19.4	18.3
Apparel and Similar	7.4	6.5	5.4	5.1
Services	21.1	25.0	28.0	33.2

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics (Middle Atlantic Region), several years 1969-1980.

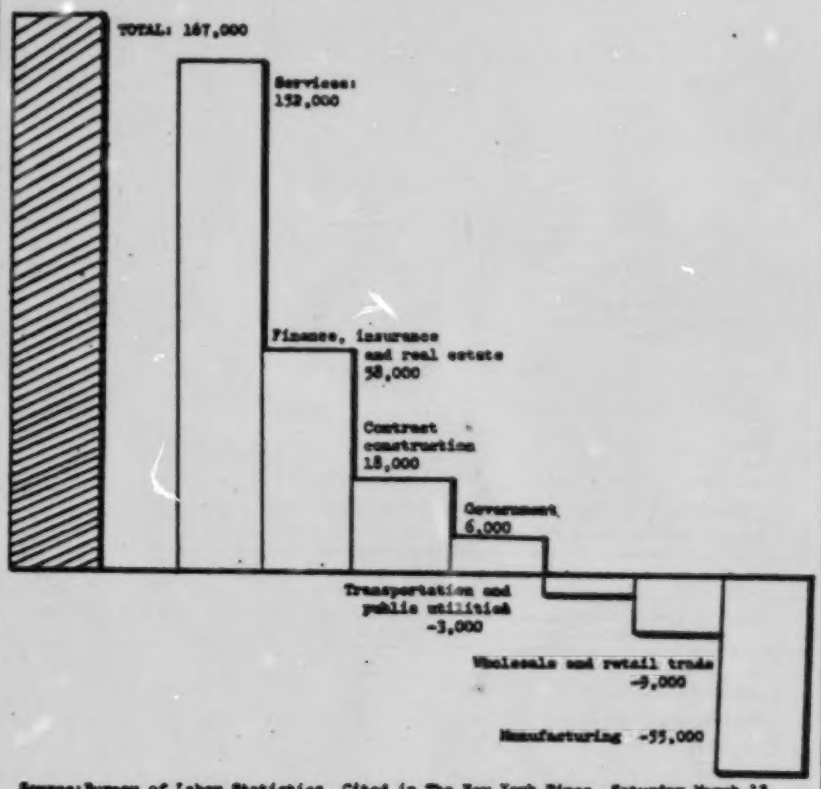
C) Nevertheless, it seems that some sub-sectors of industry had relative decreases in volume of employment before the decade of the 1950s. This is true of the garment industry (Table 25). In any case, the principal decline of this sector began in the 1970s. (Table 26)

D) During the last five years (1977-1981) the specialization of New York City into a city of services, finance, insurance, and real estate has been quite marked, with a greater decline in industrial employment than ever before (Graph #1).

The Evolution of Industrial Wages and the Structure of Industrial Employment in New York City.

Table 29 provides the average weekly earnings of industrial workers employed in the factories of New York and North-eastern New Jersey in comparison to the national average for the period 1961-1981. One can observe the existing average differential between industrial wages in New York City, the New York - North-eastern New Jersey area, and the United States as a whole. Until 1970-71, the differentials fluctuuated between 95% and 95% for wages in New York City in relation to average national wages. Beginning in 1972, the differentials tended to

Graphic 1: Employment Changes in New York City: Number of Jobs Added or Subtracted in each Classification Between 1977 and 1981.



Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics. Cited in The New York Times, Saturday March 13, 1982, page 29.

Table 29: Gross Average Weekly Earnings of Factory Production Workers, United States, New York, Northeastern New Jersey, and New York City, 1961-1981.

Year	Gross Average Weekly Earnings				
	United States	New York/ North-eastern New Jersey	New York City		
	1	2	3	3/1 (%)	3/2 (%)
1961	$ 92.34	$ 92.40	$ 87.10	94	94.2
1962	96.56	95.80	89.86	93	93.8
1963	99.23	98.03	92.25	93	94
1964	102.97	101.14	95.25	92.5	94.2
1965	107.53	105.06	97.88	91	93.1
1966	112.19	109.30	101.95	91	93.3
1967	114.49	112.90	106.0	92.6	93.9
1968	122.51	119.78	112.94	92.2	94.3
1969	129.51	126.62	119.51	92.3	94.4
1970	133.33	132.78	126.82	95.1	95.5
1971	142.44	142.78	135.76	95.3	95.0
1972	154.71	154.06	144.76	93.6	94.0
1973	166.46	164.34	153.12	92	93.2
1974	176.80	174.83	161.88	91.5	92.6
1975	190.79	188.67	174.00	91.2	92.2
1976	209.32	200.07	183.77	87.8	91.8
1977	228.90	216.46	193.07	84.3	89.2
1978	249.27	229.89	202.00	81	87.8
1979	268.94	248.73	217.46	81	87.4
1980	288.62	270.81	236.67	82	87.4
1981*	322.34	302.45	259.78	80.6	85.9

Source: News, US Department of Labor Statistics Middle Atlantic Region, page 6, Saturday December 27, 1980; and Employment and Earnings, US Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, December 1981: Establishment data, historical hours and earnings (page 71), and State and area hours and earnings (page 98).

*October

widen, but especially after 1976, when the average industrial wages of New York City were less than 85% of those paid on the national scale. This same phenomenon occurred in relation to the New York-North-eastern New Jersey area. The tendency in New York has been for average industrial earnings to be almost 20% below the U.S. average.

Of course, the decline in average industrial earnings in New York has, above all, been related to the decline of certain types of industrial employment in this city, namely in durable consumer goods and, in general, heavy industry, which had had high nominal remuneration. Industrial employment has been progressively concentrating in labor intensive industries since 1970. This is true in spite of the sharp drop in the number of establishments in the non-durable goods industries.

Finally, these earnings differentials in industrial employment will aid us to understand low earnings that Colombians employed in this sector received in 1981, in relation to earnings in other branches of activity (for example, Services). In sum, during the 1970s the employment structure of New York City experienced rapid change, progressively losing its industrial character. At the same time, its remaining industries became more and more labor-intensive. This was one of the key elements in the New York City labor market during the 1970s, but it has become important during the past five years.

Although it is neither our task nor our objective to analyze new tendencies in captial accumulation operating in the U.S. or in New York City, such as the flight of industrial capital to other areas within the U.S. and abroad, as other studies have done (Sassen-Koob 1981), it is important to stress that the demand for labor during the 1970s in New York resulted from a combination of different groups of capital, among which one must consider small, medium and relatively large groups from the periphery countries (24). These groups have entered different branches of economic activity in New York City, but surely the financial and service sectors have been the key branches in this process. Labor intensive industries have also received new capital of foreign Hispanic and Asian origin (garment industry, miscellaneous industries, furniture, leather, etc.). Likewise, it has been relatively easy for the restaurant industry to absorb the small capital investments of European, Latin American, and Asian immigrants.

Secondly, one would have to consider the labor supply which entered New York during the decade of the 1970s. The inter-censal data for the period 1970-1980 (Sassen-Koob 1981, and others) indicate significant increases in the Hispanic and Asian populations in New York. The second wave of Colombian migration was part of this great population expansion by means of immigration.

Nevertheless, even before the beginning of the decade of the 1950s, as Helfgott (1959) shows, Puerto Rican immigrants already constituted the majority of the labor supply in the garment industry. He also demonstrates that other groups of Hispanic immigrants had entered this sector toward the end of that same decade. In fact, they displaced the second generation of Jewish and Italian im-

migrants who had been employed in the garment industry at that time (Helfgott, 1959).

The garment industry is a good example of the type of industry that, although tending to decline in volume of employment and in number of establishments (Table 26), maintains itself as one of the labor-intensive industries of the city, requiring a more or less unlimited labor supply (the majority of which are women).

It is quite possible that other labor-intensive manufacturing industries (both durable and non-durable goods) have come to depend more and more on the growing immigrant labor supply, in a fashion quite similar to that of the garment industry.

But the relatively unlimited labor supply has not been utilized solely by the declining industrial sector. The use of this labor supply has also been a necessary part of the rapid expansion of the service sector during the 1970s. Both men and women have found employment there, not only in the lowest occupational levels (blue collar operative or service worker), but also in skilled blue collar and in white collar occupations (professionals, technicians, managers). We will examine this later.

Comparative Ethnic Labor Market Participation

Differences in Rate of Labor Market Participation of Colombians and Other Ethnic Groups in the United States: Table 30 indicates that the Colombians in our sample have the highest labor market participation pattern in respect to other groups in the American labor market, especially in comparison with the rates for whites and blacks. In relation to other Hispanic groups, the rate most similar to that of Colombian males is the rate for Mexican Americans (91.4% for Colombian males, and 87.1% for Mexican-American males). For women, however, the difference in rates between Colombians and other Hispanic groups, including Cubans, Central and South Americas, and other Spanish are more pronounced.

Table 30: Rate of Labor Participation of Several Different Groups of the Labor Force in U.S., by Sex (1981)

	U.S.	White	Black	Hispanic Origin	Mexican	Puerto Rican	Cuban	Central/South American and other Hispanics	Colombian Immigrants in NYC (Fordham Sample)
Female LFP*	52.2%	52.0%	55.7%	48.8%	49.1%	37.1%	54.5%	53.8%	62.7%
Male LFR	76.4%	79.4%	74.3%	85.2%	87.1%	87.1%	84.1%	82.2%	91.4%
Both Sexes LFR	63.5%	63.9%	60.5%	64.0%	66.4%	51.5%	66.3%	64.2%	77.3%

Sources: News, United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistic, Washington D.C. 20212 and Employment in Perspective: Minority Workers. U.S. Department of Labor, of Labor Statistics, several reports; and Fordham University Sample

However, we feel that this phenomennon concerning women was caused by methodological problems in the comparison of rates of labor market participation caused by the type of sample we have used, which could have over-represented women in the labor market. But, Guhleman and and Tienda (1981), in a specialized study concerning female Hispanic workers based on the 1976 National Survey of Earnings and Education, found a rate of 64.4% for foreign-born Cuban women, and a rate of 60.7% for native and foreign born Central American and South American women. This would indicate that our sample of Colombian women have patterns of labor market participation very similar to those of Cuban and South American women in the U.S.

Due to these methodological problems it is difficult to compare Colombians (of both sexes) with other groups of Hispanics. However, we can point out that, if the Colombians' rate of labor is not in fact the highest, it is among the highest within the U.S. labor market. It is important to keep this peculiar characteristic of Colombian labor market participation in mind when considering household income levels, which will be described later.

Differences in Occupational Distribution of Colombians and Other Hispanic Groups: Tables 31, 32, 33, & 34 present the occupational patterns of Colombians in New York City in relation to those of other Hispanic and non-Hispanic groups in the U.S. and New York labor market. It is possible to observe a tendency

Table 31: Distribution of Occupational Groups for Different Types of Workers, by Ethnic Group (%)

		Total	White Collar Workers					Blue Collar Workers						
			Total	Prof.	Mgr.	Sl.	Cler.	Total	Craft.	Oper.	Trans.	Non-farm	Serv.	Farm
All Workers (US)	79	100	50.9	15.5	10.8	6.4	18.2	33.0	13.3	11.3	3.7	4.8	13.2	2.9
	80	100	52.2	16.0	11.2	6.3	18.6	31.7	12.9	10.6	3.6	4.6	13.3	2.8
White (US)	79	100	52.5	15.8	11.6	6.8	18.2	32.6	13.8	10.8	3.6	4.5	12.0	2.9
	80	100	53.9	16.5	12.0	6.8	18.6	31.1	13.3	10.1	3.4	4.3	12.0	2.9
Black (US)	79	100	37.9	12.2	5.2	2.8	17.7	36.7	9.4	15.0	4.8	7.4	23.2	2.2
	80	100	39.2	12.7	5.2	2.9	18.4	35.8	9.6	14.5	4.7	6.9	23.1	1.8
Hispanics(US)	79	100	32.6	7.5	6.0	3.9	15.0	47.3	13.9	21.5	4.0	7.8	16.3	3.7
	80	100	34.2	7.9	6.4	4.0	16.0	45.5	13.7	20.9	3.9	7.0	16.4	3.8
Mexican(US) Origin	79	100	27.8	5.6	5.2	3.0	14.0	50.5	14.8	21.8	4.4	9.3	16.1	5.5
	80	100	29.2	6.0	5.3	3.2	14.6	48.9	14.8	21.5	4.2	8.4	16.1	5.7
Puerto Rican Origin(US)	79	100	37	9.8	4.8	3.5	18.9	43.0	9.6	23.9	4.2	5.4	19.1	0.6
	80	100	38.8	8.9	6.3	3.4	20.2	43.6	9.7	24.4	4.6	5.0	17.0	0.6
Cuban Origin(US)	79	100	43.8	12.2	8.9	6.4	16.6	44.3	13.0	22.4	3.9	5.0	11.4	0.6
	80	100	44.7	10.9	10.0	6.1	17.5	43.5	13.0	21.5	4.0	5.0	11.9	0.0

Source: U.S. Labor Department, Geographic Profile of Employment and Unemployment, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980.

for all groups in the U.S. and New York labor force, operating during the period 1977-1980, to increase their percentage of participation in all types of white collar occupations, with the sole exception of the category of "sales." Consequently, one notes the decrease in their participation in blue collar occupations, with some exceptions.

In New York State, and in New York City, white collar occupations clearly predominate within the labor force (57% and 61%, respectively). Naturally, the subgroup of whites is represented in greater numbers within this category (64% in New York City for 1979, Table 33).

Between 35% and 39% of Hispanics are employed in white collar occupations, and between 42% and 45% are employed in blue collar occupations. They are the second largest group in the service occupations on the national level. This is also true for Hispanics in New York City.

Table 32: Distribution of Occupational Groups for Different Types of Workers, by Ethnic Group--percentages. New York State.

		Total	White Collar Workers					Blue Collar Workers						
			Total	Prof.	Mgr.	Sl.	Cler.	Total	Craft	Oper.	Trans	Non-Farm	Serv.	Farm
All Workers	77	100	55.8	17.5	11.1	6.3	21.0	28	10.9	9.6	3.6	3.9	15	1.3
	79	100	56.6	18		11.3	5.8	21.5	27.8	11.1	9.1	3.5	3.9	14.8	—
Hispanic Workers	77	100	31	6.8	4.8	3.3	16	44.4	10.3	26.2	3.3	4.8	24.4	—
	79	100	35.9	7.5	5.9	3.9	18.6	42.5	10.6	23.3	3.7	4.9	21.6	—

Source: U.S. Labor Department, Geographic Profile of Employment and Unemployment, 1977-1980

The Colombians in our sample (Table 33), are less frequently employed in white collar occupations than other groups of Hispanics in New York City (28.25% for Colombians, as opposed to 35.7% for other groups of Hispanics). They are also over-represented in the blue collar category (50.3% as opposed to 42.5% for other Hispanics). There is only one other group of Hispanics with a similar pattern of over-representation in the blue collar category on the national level, Mexicans, with 49% (Table 31).

Table 33: Distribution of Occupational Groups for Different Types of Workers, by Ethnic Group--percentages. New York City (SMSA) 1979.

	Total	White Collar Workers					Blue Collar Workers						
		Total	Prof.	Mgr.	Sl.	Cler.	Total	Craft	Oper.	Trans	Non-Farm	Serv.	Farm
All Workers	100	60.8	18.3	12.3	5.8	24.4	24.3	8.8	8.6	3.5	3.4	14.9	—
White	100	64	19.5	14	6.8	23.7	24	9.7	8.0	3.1	3.2	12.0	—
Black	100	50.2	14.2	6.6	2.9	26.5	25.5	6.3	10.7	4.8	3.8	24.3	—
Hispanics (NYC)	100	35.7	6.6	5.7	3.7	19.5	42.5	10.0	23.6	3.9	5.0	21.8	—
Colombians (NYC, Queens) July-Nov. 81	100	28.25	6.1	10.21 (16.55)	5.5	6.2 (11.7)	50.3	15.5	26.5	2.8 (29.3)	5.5	21.4	—

Source: U.S. Labor Department, Geographic Profile of Employment and Unemployment, 1977-1980. Colombian Fordham University Sample, November 1981.

On the other hand, the Colombian pattern of service worker participation is similar to that of other Hispanic groups in New York City. In other words, although the data covers different years, and is based on different samples, one can deduce that the laboring Colombian population in New York City is over-represented in blue collar occupations, more so than other Hispanic groups. Colombians in blue collar positions are predominantly operatives. Nevertheless, it is necessary to go one step further and qualify this according to sex. Table 34 is useful in this light, although it is a comparison of the occupational distribution of Hispanics in the United States with that of Colombians in New York City.

Table 34: Major Occupational Group of the Hispanic-Origin Population 16 Years of Age and Older, by Sex and Type of Hispanic Origin: March 1979, and of Colombian Immigrants in New York City (III Quarter 1981)—in percentages.

		Total	White Collar Workers				Blue Collar Workers					Service Workers	Farm
			Sub-Total	Prof.	Manr.	Sl.	Cler.	Sub-Total	Craft	Oper.	Trns.	Non-Farm		
All Hispanic Origin in the U.S.	Males	100.0	23.6	7.6	6.6	3.2	6.2	58.2	20.9	19.6	6.0	11.7	13.4	4.7
	Females	100.0	48.2	7.5	3.7	5.3	31.7	28.4	2.1	25.0	0.2	1.1	21.8	1.5
	Both Sexes	100.0	33.1	7.6	5.5	4.0	16.0	46.7	13.7	21.6	3.8	7.6	16.7	3.4
Mexicans in the U.S.	Males	100.0	19.4	5.5	6.0	1.9	6.0	61.4	21.5	20.2	6.1	13.6	12.9	6.4
	Females	100.0	46.1	6.4	3.5	5.1	31.1	28.1	1.8	24.8	0.2	1.3	23.4	2.4
	Both Sexes	100.0	29.0	5.8	5.1	3.1	15.0	49.4	14.4	21.8	4.0	9.2	16.7	4.9
Puerto Rican in the U.S.	Males	100.0	25.0	8.2	4.6	3.3	8.9	52.5	14.4	20.2	6.1	13.6	12.9	6.4
	Females	100.0	56.6	10.4	4.2	3.6	38.4	26.4	2.2	23.4	—	0.8	16.1	0.9
	Both Sexes	100.0	37.2	9.1	4.4	3.4	20.3	42.5	9.7	21.5	4.8	6.5	18.2	2.2
Cubans in the U.S.	Males	100.0	35.2	13.6	8.6	6.7	6.3	53.0	23.4	17.6	5.4	6.6	11.0	0.8
	Females	100.0	46.7	6.5	2.4	6.6	31.2	41.9	3.9	36.8	—	1.2	11.4	—
	Both Sexes	100.0	39.9	10.8	6.1	6.7	16.3	48.4	15.5	25.3	3.2	4.4	11.2	0.5
Other Hispanic group in the U.S.	Males	100.0	33.2	12.2	9.1	6.3	5.6	51.9	21.3	18.0	4.6	8.0	13.2	1.7
	Females	100.0	50.8	9.6	4.4	6.2	30.6	24.7	2.3	21.3	0.3	0.8	24.5	—
	Both Sexes	100.0	41.0	11.0	7.0	6.2	16.8	39.8	12.8	19.5	2.7	4.8	18.2	0.9
Colombian Immigrants in NYC(*)	Males	100.0	29.5	8.5	12.8	3.5	4.7	48.6	22.4	17.5	1.6	7.1	21.8	—
	Females	100.0	26.15	2.8	5.6	5.9	11.85	54.16	3.7	46.73	0.93	2.8	20.5	—
	Both Sexes	100.0	28.25	6.3	10.25	5.5	6.2	50.3	15.5	27.9	1.4	5.5	21.4	—

*Fordham University Sample in Queens (III Quarter 1981)

Sources: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Persons of Spanish Origin in the United States: March 1979, Population Characteristics, Series P-20, No. 354 Current Population Reports, page 29, Table 10, and Fordham University Sample.

One should note that the New York labor market is composed principally of white collar positions (see Table 33), but this bias in the comparison can aid us even further in understanding the specialization of Colombians in blue collar positions. Let us examine Table 34:

Both sexes are over-represented in blue collar occupations, although more so in the case of women (48.6% for men and 54.16% for women). Other Hispanic groups with similar patterns are the Cubans (48.4%), in which, however, men are more concentrated in blue collar occupations than women, and Mexicans, especially for men. What is unique to Colombians here is the over-representation of women in blue collar positions (54.16%) and above all, of blue collar operatives (46.7%). The only other group of women in Table 34 with high percentages of blue collar operatives is Cuban women (42%).

Colombian men in blue collar occupations tend to be concentrated in the skilled blue collar category (22.4%), which is similar to the pattern of almost all Hispanic groups, except for Puerto Ricans. Women tend to concentrate in operative positions. Colombian men differ little from other Hispanic males in terms of operative positions, and present patterns of unskilled blue collar and non-farm laborer employment similar to Cuban males and other Hispanic groups.

In terms of white collar occupations, Colombian men are less represented that Cuban men, especially as professionals and technicians, and are in general less well represented than most "other Hispanic groups." Their distribution in white collar occupations is similar to that of Puerto Rican men. On the other hand, Colombian women are the least well represented in this category (only 2.8%).

Both male and female Colombians are over-represented in the category managers and supervisors, although men are more frequently found here than women. In this category, Colombians are better represented than all other Hispanic groups in Table 34. Nevertheless, for 1980 (Table 31) the pattern of distribution is quite similar to that of Cubans in this category. That is, in the laboring Colombian population in New York there is a subgroup, composed especially

of men employed as managers and supervisors, which is quite differentiated from the majority of the Colombian working population.

Colombian men and women are distributed rather evenly in the service occupations. Both sexes have higher levels of participation in this category than other Hispanic groups. Colombian women are similar to the women in "other Hispanic groups" and to Mexican women in this regard.

The meager importance of white collar clerical workers within the Colombian working population attracts one's attention, especially in the case of women (only 11.85%). This is caused by the fact that it is a population born abroad with a low level of fluency in English.

In spite of the characteristics of the New York labor market, with increasing white collar employment and decreasing blue collar employment, the Colombian working population is concentrated in blue collar occupations (50%), especially in the case of women, who are found in blue collar operative positions. There is also a great deal of concentration in the service occupations, as is true for the Hispanic population as a whole. The existence of the subgroup of managers, principally male, is a special case, and one that is quite significant in this study.

Unemployment Rates

The unemployment rate among our sample of Colombians in Queens (covering July-October 1981) is 8.5% (27 unemployed persons out of a total of 317 economically active persons). Distributed according to sex, we find a rate of 5.2% for males (10 cases) and 13.7% for females (17 cases). However, the condition of unemployment varies considerably if viewed in terms of prinicipal household members (those informants who actively participate in labor market), or in terms of secondary members (those 15 years of age or older, who are not informants in this study). For the former, the total unemployment rate is 4.9% (7 cases out of 144 total), 2.5% of which represents males and 7.9% of which represents females. The unemployment rate is 3.2% higher among female informants than among male informants. Only one male spouse was registered as unemployed.

If we separate unemployed secondary workers from the household (Table 35), and analyze their composition by sex and age, we find that 63% of them are women. 52.5% of the men and women in this group are between the ages of 25 and 49, although the largest single age group is that of 20-24 years of age, with 26.3%.

Table 35: Distribution by Age and Sex of Secondary Unemployed Workers in the Colombian Household of Queens, 1981.

Age	Men	Women	Total	%	
15-19	-	1	1	5.3	
20-24	2	3	5	26.3	
25-29	-	-	-	-	
30-34	-	2	2	10.5	
35-39	2	2	4	21.0	52.5
40-44	-	-	-	-	
45-49	2	2	4	21.0	
50-65	1	2	3	15.8	
	7	12	19	100.0	
	37.0	63.0		100.0	

Source: Fordham University Sample, November 1981.

The unemployed in our sample are primarily women (in almost all age groups) and secondary members of the household. This could possibly be related to the type of employment which most women have (industrial and blue collar operative positions): jobs with greater instability, higher turnover rates, and lower wages, among the most vulnerable of positions in the city's economic structure. Another possible factor could be the financial support offered by family networks, which allow survival in the labor market during periods of unemployment. One should not suppose that these women spend long time period out of work looking for better opportunities. The mean number of weeks women spent in search of work was 12 and the average was 5 weeks. This is quite a short time period to be looking for employment, if compared to the average of other ethnic groups. It is lower than that of whites and blacks, and similar to that of Hispanic women. It seems that the average for Hispanics is relatively lower than that of other groups (Table 36). This could be a reflection of reduced bargaining power on the part of Hispanic women in relation to the jobs that are offered them.

Table 36: U.S. Unemployment Rate (2nd Quarter, 1981) and Median Number of Weeks of Search for Employment.

	Men	Weeks in Job Search (Median)	Women	Weeks in Job Search (median)	Total	Weeks in Job Search (Median)
Total	7.0	8.2	7.6	5.5	7.3	6.8
Black	14.9	8.9	15.1	6.9	15.0	7.9
Hispanic Origin	9.8	6.5	9.7	4.8	9.7	5.7
White	6.2	8.1	6.6	5.2	6.4	6.6

Source: Employment in Perspective, Minority Workers, Second Quarter 1981. U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Report 652.

The unemployment rate for the entire New York working population during the period in which our survey was administered July-October varied between 7.2% and 9.3%, with a mean of 8.3% for the four months in question. This means that the overall unemploymemt rate of the Colombian immigrants at the time of the survey was similar to that of the New York working population as a whole.

Nevertheless, there are significant differences between Colombbians and other Hispanics in New York City. During the same period, the unemployment rate of all Hispanics was 10.9%; Colombians had a rate 22.5% lower than that of the Hispanic population as a whole (25).

With the Colombian migrants labor force in New York, the higher unemployment rate of women (13.7%, in contrast to 5.2% for men) can be influenced by the type of industrial employment which they most commonly have, especially in the garment industry, which has two long periods of shut-downs annually. This characteristic of the type of industrial employment held by Colombian women can greatly bias the data. For all Hispanics in New York City, the unemployment rate of women was 11.3%, while that of men was 10.7%. There is a difference in the distribution of unemployment by sex when Colombians are compared with all Hispanics (U.S. Labor Department data). Among Colombians the difference in unemployment rates between men and women is greater than the difference between sexes for Hispanics as a whole in New York City. The great importance of industrial employment among Colombians partially explains this phenomenon.

In any case, the lower unemployment rate for Colombians can be explained by the fact that the Colombian labor supply is composed of immigrants (many of whom are here illegally). For immigrant workers in general, the trend for unemployment rates almost always to be lower than those of non-migrant groups. The particular labor characteristics of the recent migrant populations explain these differences.

Weekly Earnings of Men and Women by Occupational Group and Branch of Economic Activity

If we compare the average earnings of Colombian men and women in different occupational groups with the available data for workers on the national level, for the same time period(Table 37), we observe that Colombians in all of the occupational groups (male or female) have lower average weekly earnings, although the differences are considerably larger among men than among women.

Table 37: Median Weekly Earnings, for Men and Women, According to Major Occupational Group (III Quarter 1981) U.S. Labor Department and Fordham Sample (in Dollars)

Major Occupational Group	Queens Fordham Sample (July-November 1981)		U.S. III Quarter			
	Men (1)	Women (2)	Men (3)	Women (4)	% (2)/(1)	% (4)/(3)
White Collar: professional technical, managers	314	267.5	456	304	68.8	88
White Collar: sales and clerical	249	153.4	349	208	71.3	73.7
Blue Collar: craft and kindred workers	259	185	367	238	70.5	77.7
Blue Collar: all operative	190	161	306	187**	62	86
Blue Collar: others	166	116.5*	242	191	68.6	—
Service Workers	181	151	233	167	77.6	90
Total	240.5	165	346	225	69.5	73.3
Female/Male Spouse (Combined)	275	153	379	188	72.6	81.4

* This figure is not representative due to insufficent data.
** This figure does not include women in the transportation sector.
Sources: News, U.S. Labor Department, Bureau of Labor Statistics, December 8, 1981 Tables 1 and 6, and Fordham University Sample (preliminary data).

The earnings differentials found, with some exceptions (26) in many ways confirm the hypothesis that recent immigrants initially tend to constitute a sizeable group of workers with a lower supply price than the average in the labor market. In this manner, their economic role is one of lowering labor costs for certain firms, especially those using labor-intensive technology. Thus we find that New York City is a "cheap labor space" in a series of occupations. Colombians, as a recent immigrants with earnings lower than those in the United States as a whole, are a proof of the tendency in the New York labor market to offer lower relative wages.

Table 38 shows the earnings differentials for Colombian men and women in the principal branches of economic activity and industries in which they work. The data indicate that the traditional industrial sector in New York, especially in non-durable goods, pays the lowest wages, for both men and women, but above all to women. The specialized services sector (professional and technicians) has the highest remunerations (for men and women), followed by the cleaning and maintenance services. That is, these remunerations are consistent with the tendencies present in the New York economy: orientation toward the specialized services, cleaning and maintenance services, and the restaurant sector, with a loss of industrial employment, and subsequently, low average industrial earnings (Table 29).

Table 38: Median and Average Weekly Earnings for Men and Women, according to Branches of Economic Activity.

	Men		Women		Total Average (both sexes)
	Mean	Median	Mean	Median	
Manufacturing durable goods	203	188	177.1	172	188.7
Manufacturing non durable goods	187.4	173.5	156.3	152	168.7
Services A(*)	315	292	185	179.6	269.5
Services B(*)	246.3	228	165.4	160.6	222
Trade	240.4	222.6	125	———	229
Eating and drinking	218.1	202	100	———	212.5
Simple Total Average	235		151.5		215

(**)

(*) Services A: professional, specialized services including government, health, education, finance, and transport.
Services B: cleaning, maintenance, vigilance and personal services.

(**) These percentages are not significant due to insufficient data.

Source: Colombian Fordham University Sample, November 1981, Preliminary data.

Table 39 shows that the average weekly earnings of Colombian men and women are lower than those of Hispanics in the U.S. That is those Hispanic groups with longer periods of participation in the U.S. labor market (27) receive slightly higher average weekly earnings, due to the passage of some of their members, especial ly males, into white collar occupations.
In sum, the lower remuneration of Colombians is due to their occupational distribution and shorter length of activity within the labor market. Length of participation in the labor market, and the

period of entry to it are factors that must be considered in the operation of the segmented labor market. These migrants entered the market during a period of profound changes in the employment structure of New York City, above all in the drop of industrial employment, and have had to seek employment within the traditional industries of this city (28).

Table 39: Median Weekly Earnings for Men and Women, by Hispanic Group U.S. Labor Department and Colombian Fordham Sample 1981 (III Quarter) (in Dollars)

	1 White (U.S.)	2 Black (U.S.)	3 Hispanic (U.S.)	4 Colombian Migrants in Queens (NYC)	1/4	2/4	3/4	1/1	2/2
Men	354	276	251	240.5	68%	87.1%	96%	70%	91%
Women	226	212	193	165	73%	78%	86%	85.4%	91%
Total	294	241	230	200	68%	83%	87.5%	78%	95.4%

Sources: News, U.S. Labor Department, Bureau of Labor Statistics, December 8, 1981, Table; and Fordham University Sample (preliminary data).

Weekly Earnings in Terms of Household Labor Market Participation

Table 40 shows the differences in weekly remuneration by type of household participation in the labor market between groups in the national working population (by race and Hispanic), and the Colombians in our sample.
observed by controlling the variables number and type of household

One can observe, in Table 40, that households headed by women are those with lowest income levels for all groups, but especially for Hispanics and Colombians in particular, although the differences with black female-headed households are not considerable.

Table 40: Race and Hispanic Origin: Families by Number and Position of Workers in the Household and Median Weekly Earnings (quarterly 1981 averages, not seasonally adjusted)

Number and Type of Workers per Family	White (US)	Black (US)	Hispanic (US)	Colombian Sample in Queens
One Worker	318	216	232	227
Two Workers or more	589	488	481	365
Husband + Wife only	565	503	452	385
Families Maintained by Women (1 worker)	208	188	173	180 (*)

(*) 9.9% of the Colombians households of the sample are composed of mothers and children, and of these 58.3% are in or under this level or remuneration. These households comprise 6% of the households in the lowest income level.

Source: News, United State Department of Labor, Weekly Earnings of Workers and their families: Third Quarter 1981. Table 2, Tuesday, December 8. 1981 and Fordham University Sample of Colombian Immigrants.

Colombian families maintained by one working member are found between Hispanics and American blacks, earning $227.00 weekly. Nevertheless, it is through the analysis of households with two or more members, or with both spouses, in the labor market, that one appreciates an important particularity of Colombians: Colombian earnings are lower than those of Hispanics as a whole, who, in turn, recieve lower earnings than both blacks and whites.

Colombian households with two or more members in the labor market receive a median of $365.00 per week, in contrast to $488.00 and $481.00 for blacks and Hispanics, respectively. At the same time, Colombian households in which both husband and wife are actively participating in the labor market receive a weekly median of $385.00, as opposed to $503.00 for similar black households, and $452.00 for Hispanic households. This must be explained in terms of the considerably lower weekly earnings of secondary workers in Colombian households, especially of wives and other members. This was true for at least half of the households studied. One must also note, however, that the earnings of primary members (in general, male heads of household) are also relatively lower among Colombians.

Labor intensive economic activities in the city of New York are dependent upon the supply of recently arrived immigrants, depending especially upon the secondary workers in immigrant households. Demand, then, enjoys a relatively unlimited supply of manpower, with a possibily decreased market price, made tenable through the availability to workers of a combined household income, composed of the earnings of different household members. In this way, the remuneration of both primary and secondary workers in the household will tend to decrease.

VII REMUNERATION BY TYPE OF HOUSEHOLD AND STRATEGIES OF LABOR MARKET PARTICIPATION

In this chapter we will examine the relationship between the size of Colombian households, their participation in the labor market, and their household income, in addition to analyzing the relationships between different types of households, according to their socio-demographic and economic characteristics and income levels. Finally, we will analyse the four different types of Colombian households in terms of their household budgets.

In the previous chapter we observed that the median weekly earnings per person in the Colombian community are lower than those of other groups in the U.S. working population. Nevertheless, household income, for a segment of the Colombian population, is nominally higher, as we will see later. For this reason, we are emphasizing the high rate of participation of Colombian immigrants in the labor market in our analysis.

Relationship Between the Number of Person Per Household, the Number of Employed Persons Per Household, and Weekly Earnings.

Tables 41 and 42 clearly demonstrate the relationship between the number of persons per household, the number of employed persons per household and weekly earnings. In reality, three groups exist in this regard:

Table 41: Number of Persons and Employed Persons per Household and average weekly earnings of Colombian Households.

Number of Persons Per Household	Mean Number of Employed Persons per each Household Group		Percentage of Colombian Households	
1-2 Persons	1.46		16.9	
3 Persons	1.87	1.85	28.2	53.6
4 Persons	1.80		25.4	
5 Persons	2.32	2.4	17.6	29.6
6 or more	2.53		12.0	
Mean 3.99=4	1.96=2		100.0 (N=142)	

Number of Persons per Household	Mean Weekly earnings per each Colombian Household Group	Percentage of Colombian Households	
1-2 Persons	317	16.1	
3 Persons	385	39.7	56%
4 Persons	390	16.9	
5 Persons	470	18.6	27.9%
6 or more	473	9.3	
Mean 3.99=4	399.7=400	100 (N=118)	

Source: Fordham University Sample.

Table 42: Number of Employed Persons in Colombian Household by Household Earnings.

	0-199	200-399	400-599	600-799	800 or More
0 Persons	18.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
1 Person	75.0	47.7	12.2	15.4	25.0
2 Persons	6.3	40.9	75.6	23.1	0.0
3 Persons	0.0	11.4	12.2	53.8	0.0
4 or more Persons	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.7	75.0

Source: Fordham University Sample.

1) Small households (1-2 persons), with 1.46 employed persons per household, which receive a median of $317.00 per week. These households represent 17% of the households in the sample.

2) Medium-sized households (3 to 4 persons), with a labor market participation of 1.85 persons, and weekly earnings of around $387.00. The majority of the households in our sample, (54%), fall into this household group.

3) Medium-large sized households (between 5 and 7 members), with 2.4 members in the labor market. The median weekly earnings in this group is $472.00. Almost 30% of the Colombian households studied fall into this category.

Labor market participation and nominal earnings household increase (relatively) as household size increases. Herein lies the "economic rationality" in the composition of Colombian households in New York City: household size is directly related to labor market participation for the attainment of principal or additional income. It is the logic of reduced maintenance costs based upon group living. For this reason, it is fundamental for Colombian migrants in New York City who are in search of survival and "economic success" to have complete families (with few young children) or families with additional members who are active in the labor market (29).

Table 43: Percentage of Changes in Costant Dollars of Median Weekly Earnings for Salaried Workers and their Families (according to ethnic characteristics).

	White			Black			Hispanic		
	1979 III to 1980 III	1980 III to 1981 III	Accumulated	1979 III to 1980 III	1980 III to 1981 III	Accumulated	1979 III to 1980 III	1980 III to 1981 III	Accumulated
Percentage of % change in constant dollars of median weekly earnings of full-time wage and salary workers by ethnic characteristics.	-2.6	-3.0	-5.6	-5.7	-0.9	-6.6	-6.1	-2.9	-9.0
Percentage of change in constant dollars of median weekly earnings of families by ethnic characteristics.	-4.3	-2.3	-6.6	-2.5	-7.6	-10.1	-8.8	-0.9	-9.7

Source: News, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, December 1981. Tables 8 and 9.

Analysis of per capita earnings of employed household members in these three household types reveals that individual earnings decrease as nominal income increases: $217.00 for households of 1-2 persons, $209.00 for those in the second category, and 197.00 for households of 5 to 7 persons. As was observed in the analysis of Table 40, the greater the participation of each household in the labor market, the less the individual earnings, especially for secondary members of the household, such as wives, women, and other members.

Because the logic of greater labor market participation is not dependent on the decisions of individual households, but on the general conditions existing in the migration process (found in the causes of the migration process as well) and above all on the standard of living and reproduction costs in a city such as New York, what compensates for lower individual earnings is the reduction of maintenance costs for the household as a whole (in rent, food, and other costs), besides the security that the household provides for those employed members who may experience periods of unemployment.

Earnings Levels and Household Characteristics

Analysis of the income levels of Colombian households, according to weekly earnings, by different types of household characteristics (such as socio-demographic characteristics, occupational groups, and branches of economic activity) reveals the following (see Table 44,45 & 46):

Table 44: Type of Household (according to sociodemographic characteristics) and Weekly Household Income. (in dollars)

Type of Household	Median	Mean	Percentage of Households with earning information.	Percentage of Households (all the Households).
Household of mother, children, and other family member	470.0	520.0	2.5	3.5
Household of mother, father, and children	312.5	423.5	63.6	63.4
Household of friends and distant relatives	245.4	369.0	16.1	16.2
Household of singles and father with children	238.6	309.0	7.1	7.0
Household of mother and children	178.7	337.7	10.2	9.9
			100.0	100.0
			N=118	N=142

Source: Fordham University Sample, November 1981.

Table 45: Type of Household (according to occupational groups) and Weekly Household Income.

Type of Household	Median	Mean	Percentage of Households with earning information.	Percentage of Households (all the households).
White Collar-Blue Collar-service worker households	405.0	482.4	8.5	7.7
Service worker households	382.5	366.2	16.9	19.0
White collar households	355.0	477.2	14.4	14.1
Blue Collar-service worker households	340.0	445.0	21.2	21.1
Blue collar households	244.0	352.0	37.3	35.2
Dependent households	0	0	1.7	2.8
			100.0	100.0
			N=118	N=142

Source: Fordham University Sample, November 1981.

A) According to the socio-demographic characteristics of Colombian households, those composed of mothers, children, and other members have the highest median weekly earnings ($470.00 and $520.00 weekly, respectively), but they comprise only 3.5% of the sample (N=142). Second in earnings are complete households, those composed of mothers, fathers, and children, which comprise 63.4% of the sample. Households composed of friends and distant relatives (16.2%) are third in terms of earning levels. Finally, households composed of individuals and fathers with children (7.0%) and those of single mothers (9.9%) have the lowest earnings (median of $178.70 weekly).

B) By occupational groups, those households that combine activities such as white- or blue-collar with service worker occupations have the highest income, but they comprise only 7.7% of the total sample. Those with the second highest incomes

are employed in service worker occupations (19%), followed by those with white collar employment (14.1%) and those that combine blue collar and service occupations (21.1%). The largest group in our sample, blue collar households, has the lowest household income level ($244.00 median and $352.00 weekly mean). Finally, households without income, or those dependent on welfare, comprise 2.8% of the total sample.

C) By branch of economic activity and occupation, those households that combine salaried economic activities with small businesses (in commerce, services, and manufacturing) received substantially higher household incomes ($353 and $575 median and mean, respectively). These households are 7.7% of the total households in the Queens sample. The main factor which explains their higher income level is the earnings generated by the small businesses.

Table 46: Type of Household (According to Branch of Economic Activity and Occupational Position) and Weekly Household Income (in Dollars).

Type of Household	Median	Mean	Percent of Households (with earning information)	Percent of Households (all the households)
Households with family members in salaried activities and small business	353.0	575.2	9.3	7.7
Households with salaried positions in commerce and non-industrial activities (services)	275.0	397.3	32.2	31.7
Households with salaried positions in industry services and commerce	273.0	410.6	26.3	30.3
Households with all the family members in manufacturing industries	251.0	357	28.0	24.6
Households with members in other combination of activities	204.0	310	2.5	2.8
Dependant households	0	0	1.7	2.8
			100 (N=118)	100 (N=142)

Source: Fordham University Sample

These households are followed by two types of households with median and mean incomes that are quite similar: households with salaried members in commerce and other non-industrial activities and households with salaried members in industry, commerce, and services (31.7% and 30.3%, respectively). However, what explains the similarity of income level between these two groups is the level of remuneration of those employed in the service occupations within the second group.

Households with members employed only in the manufacturing sector receive the lowest earnings ($251 median, and $357 mean), with the exception of one household type employed in other activities. Households of employees in manufacturing comprise 24.6% of the total sample. On the end of the scale we find households composed of dependent persons, two of which are composed of female heads of household without employment, one composed of a complete family, and one of an individual living alone.

The broader tendencies in earnings according to household type are the following:

--households composed of blue collar workers, and those linked to the labor amrket exclusively through employment in the manufacturing sector receive the lowest incomes.

--households with small businesses have higher incomes, and have significantly higher incomes than all other types of Colombian households.

--households with a combination of occupational groups and branches of activity have higher incomes.

--households with the lowest incomes are those composed of mothers and fathers who are single heads of household, and of individuals. The poorest group, however, is that of female heads of household, who are either unemployed, or receive the lowest incomes. In contrast, households with the highest incomes are composed of women, children, and other members (who can or can not work) (30).

Table 47: Budgets of Four Different Household Groups in New York City and in the Colombian Community, During Autumn, 1981

	New York City Household Budget (family of 4)*	Colombian Sample, Autumn, '81	Number of People Colombian Family	% of Distribution of Colombian Households by Income Level
Minimum Poverty-level Budget	$8,460	$7,956	3.6	13.6%
Lower Budget	$15,832	$15,964	3.6	37.3%
Intermediate Budget	$29,424	$24,440	4.17	34.7%
Higher Budget	$47,010	$38,140	4.3	14.4%
				100 %
Colombian Household mean for 3.9 person family		$20,785		
median for 3.9 person family		$13,828.50**		

* Data are projected and adjusted for 1981, according to Autumn 1980 and an inflation rate of 10%.

** When the New York City lower budget is prorated for a family of 3.9 people, the figure is $15,436. The median Colombian household income is 10.4% below this figure.

Methodological Note: This table contains the average New York City household budgets for four income groups for the third quarter of 1981, according to the U.S. Labor Department. Unfortunately, information of the distribution of households in these categories is not available for New York City, or for other cities. This is a constraint on our analysis because we cannot know how the income distribution of the Colombian population relates to that of the city's population as a whole. In addition, the Colombian family size is somewhat different from the average used by the U.S. Department of Labor, and this difference in family size could cause some small variations, but they would not be significant for our purposes.

Sources: "News," U.S. Labor Department, Autumn 1980; "Urban Family Budgets and Comparative Indexes for Selected Urban Areas," April 22, 1981, Tables 1, 2, and 3. U.S. Labor Department; and Fordham University Sample.

Classification of Colombian Households in New York City by Income Level

We have analyzed Colombian household budgets (total annual income per household) according to the U.S. Labor Department distribution of minimum poverty level, lower, intermediary, and higher budgets for New York City during Autumn, 1980, and actualized for 1981. Table 47 reveals that 37.3% of the households in our sample clustered around the lower budget level. Another 34.7% of the households fell around the intermediary budget level. The poorest group, those closest to the minimum poverty level, comprised 13.6% of the Colombian households studies, while typically upper middle class households constitute 14.4% of the sample.

There is a clear relationship, especially for the two higher-income level household groups, between the increase in household budget, and the number of persons per household, which reinforces the association between number of persons in the household, number of employed persons per household, and total household income. Those in the two higher household budget levels are those who have good work opportunities which greatly influence their nominal income.

These households according to the most nominal classification are in large part lower middle- and middle class by New York City standards, which enables them to locate themselves in a middle class residential section of New York: the borough of Queens.

Analysing the data in another form, we find that half of the households have a median annual budget of $13,828.05, which is 13.4% lower than the lower budget category. This gives us a better profile of the distribution of income by households: half of the households in our sample have incomes lower than that of the lower middle class in New York, about 35% are found in the middle class range, and 14% are in the upper middle class range. From the point of view of income, then, there is a clear differentiation of Colombian households in New York, but at the same time, this differentiation is conditioned by the number of employed persons per household.

Finally, one must take into account the fact that 52% of the households sent money to relatives in Colombia, averaging $950.00 per household annually. This means that a little more than half of the Colombian households send approximately between 4% and 5% of their annual income to Colombia (31). Unlike other segments of the American working population, these Colombians view the remittance of money to Colombia as one of the items in their usual annual costs. Nevertheless, it is possible that this sum was higher in the 1960s and at the beginning of the 1970s (in terms of percentages), for the simple reason that the U.S. inflation rate was lower during that period. The economic situation, beginning in the years 1974-1975 and especially during the last three years, has greatly decrease the real wages of Colombian immigrants, affecting the remittance of money to Colombia (32).

VIII OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE AND MOBILITY OF COLOMBIAN MIGRANTS IN THE NEW YORK LABOR MARKET, BY SEX

In this chapter we will analyze the occupational mobility of the migrants by sex in the U.S. labor market (33) beginning with the first occupation held upon arrival in New York, followed by the occupation held for the longest duration in the U.S., and finally, we will examine present occupations (at the time of the survey) (34). We will also examine the relationship between occupational mobility in the U.S. labor market and occupations held in Colombia, focusing on the first job held in the U.S., the occupation of insertion into the American labor market.

We are also interested in determining the occupational structure, by branches of economic activity, of the present occupations of the various members of Colombian households, and establishing the relationship that educational level has to it (35).

Occupational Mobility Between Colombia and the United States, by Sex and Occupational Groups:

Tables 48 and 49 indicate the principal changes, for men and women, that occurred upon insertion into the U.S. labor market. In Colombia, 25.1% of the males were not in the economically active population (Table 48), but upon entrance to the U.S. labor market, this percentage dropped to 1.3%. Of the males in the sample, 36.3% had been employed in white collar activities in Colombia, but once in the United States, this figure dropped to 15.1%, and blue collar (42. %) and service worker (37.5%) occupations rose. In other words the bulk of the male population entered the labor market in these two occupational categories (80.1%), which in Colombia had only accounted for 36.35% of male occupations. Of the males, 77.5% had changed their occupational activities as a result of migration.

Table 48: Males, Occupation of Longest Duration in Colombia by First Occupation in the United States.

Colombia \ United States	White Collar 1	White Collar 2	Blue Collar skilled	Blue Collar semi-skilled	Blue Collar other	Service workers	Students	Unemployed	Other (farm)	Totals	Percentages	
White Collar 1	4	0	1	4	0	4	0	1	1	15	18.8	
White Collar 2	1	3	4	0	1	5	0	0	0	14	17.5	
Blue Collar skilled	0	0	3	1	0	5	0	0	0	9	11.3	
Blue Collar semi-skilled	0	0	1	3	0	2	0	0	0	6	7.5	
Blue Collar other	0	0	1	2	0	2	0	0	0	5	6.3	
Service Workers	0	0	0	5	0	4	0	0	0	9	11.25	
Students	0	2	2	5	0	8	1	0	1	19	23.8	} 25.1%
Non-working	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1.3	}
Unemployed person	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1.3	economically inactive population
Other (farm)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1.3	
Total	5	7	13	20	1	30	1	1	2	80	100.0	
Percentages	6.3	8.8	16.3	25	1.3	37.5	1.3	1.3	2.5			

economically inactive population

Source: Fordham University Sample.

As in evident in Table 49, 48% of the women were economically inactive in Colombian, while after arrival in the United States, this figure plummeted to only 15.2%. The category of housewife dropped from 21.7% to 14.17%, and that of student from 18.5% to 1.1%. In Colombia 38.1% of women were employed in white collar occupations, which also dropped to 13.1% in the U.S. Blue collar occupations came to account for 55.4% of female employment and service occupations came to total 69.5% of female employment in the New York labor market. Of the women, 80.4% changed occupational activities as a result of the migration process.

The large concentration of males in blue collar and service occupations implies that almost all males entered the U.S. labor market, while a portion of females remained active as housewives, or became housewives, in the United States.

Table 49: Females, Occupation of Longest Duration in Colombia by First Occupation in the United States.

Colombia \ United States	White Collar 1	White Collar 2	Blue Collar skilled	Blue Collar semi-skilled	Blue Collar other	Service Workers	Housewife	Students	Unemployed	Totals	Percentages	
White Collar 1	1	1	0	5	0	2	0	1	0	10	10.9	
White Collar 2	0	4	1	7	4	4	4	0	1	25	27.2	
Blue Collar semi-skilled	0	1	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	6	6.5	
Blue Collar other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1.1	
Service workers	0	0	1	4	0	1	0	0	0	6	6.5	
Housewife	0	1	0	10	0	2	7	0	0	20	21.7	
Students	1	3	1	8	1	2	1	0	0	17	18.5	
Non-working (at home)	0	0	1	2	1	2	1	0	0	7	7.6	48% economically inactive population
Totals	2	10	4	41	6	13	13	1	2	92	100.0	
Percentages	2.2	10.9	4.3	44.6	6.5	14.1	14.1	1.1	2.2			

Source: Fordham University Sample.

economically inactive population 15.2%

$\frac{18}{92} \times 100 = 19.6$ a change of 80.4%

By Branches of Economic Activity (Tables 50 and 51):

In Colombia, 15.9% of the men were employed in the manufacturing sector, while in the United States the distribution of industrial employment rose to 36.6%. In Colombia, 28% were found in Services A but only only 14.6% found employment in these occupations in New York. On the other hand, only 6.1% of the men had been employed in Services B in Colombia, but after their migration to the United States, this figure rose to 22%. Activities in the restaurant sector doubled from 11% to 22%. Of the males, 82.8% changed branches of economic activity.

Table 50: Males, Industry of Longest Duration in Colombia by First Industry in the U.S..

United States / Colombia	Manufacture durable	Manufacture non-durable	Services A	Services B	Trade	Eating/drinking	Housewife	Students + other non-working	Total	Percentages
Manufacture durable	1	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	5	6.1
Manufacture non-durable	2	2	0	1	1	2	0	0	8	9.8
Services A	5	6	4	4	1	3	0	0	23	28.0
Services B	0	0	0	2	0	3	0	0	5	6.1
Trade	1	2	1	2	0	2	0	0	8	9.8
Eating/ drinking	1	1	1	4	0	1	0	1	9	11.0
Students + other non-working	4	5	6	4	1	3	0	1	24	29.2
Total	14	16	12	17	3	18	0	2	82	100.0
Percentages	17.1	19.5	14.6	20.7	3.7	22.0	0	2.4		

Source: Fordham University Sample.

$\frac{10}{58} \times 100 = 17.2\%$
a change of 82.8%

For women in our survey, Industrial employment in Colombia only accounted for 12.7% of total female employment, while in the United States the percentage of these women employed in this sector rose to 56.4%. The Services A sector employed 16% of the women in Colombia, as percentage which dropped to 3.2% when they got their first jobs in New York City. However, employment in Services B increased from only 2.1% in Colombia to 12.8% in New York. A high percentage of women had participated in trade activities in Colombia, 18.1%, but this, too, fell upon their arriving in the U.S., to only 5.3%. 83.7% of the changed branches of economic activity as a product of the migration process.

Table 51: Females, Industry of Longest Duration in Colombia by First Industry in the United States.

United States / Colombia	Manufacture durable	Manufacture non-durable	Services A	Services B	Trade	Eating/drinking	Housewife	Students + other non-working	Total	Percentage
Manufacture durable	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	2.1
Manufacture non-durable	2	5	0	2	0	0	1	0	10	10.6
Services A	5	4	1	1	2	0	1	1	15	16.0
Services B	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2.1
Trade	4	4	0	2	1	2	3	1	17	18.1
Eating/ drinking	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	3.2
Housewife	2	7	0	4	0	2	6	0	21	25.5
Students + other non-working	6	9	2	3	2	0	2	0	24	25.5
Total	20	33	3	12	5	5	14	2	94	100.0
Percentage	21.3	35.1	3.2	12.8	5.3	5.3	14.9	2.1		

Source: Fordham University Sample.

$\frac{8}{49} \times 100 = 16.3\%$
a change of 83.7%

Occupational Mobility by Sex, Between the First Occupation in the U.S. Labor Market and Present Occupation (by Occupational Groups)

Upon insertion into the U.S. labor market, 16.1% of the men were employed in white collar occupations, but 29.6% were employed in white collar activities at the time of the survey (this change occurred especially in the subgroup White Collar 1) (Table 52). Upon arrival, 42% entered blue collar activities, and 43.2% listed this as their present occupation, athough there was a decrease in blue collar operative and unskilled blue collar occupations. A decrease also occurred in service worker employment (from 37% to 24.7%). Since their first participation in the U.S. labor market, 55% of the men changed occupational activities.

Table 52: Males, First Occupation in the U.S. by Present Occupation in the U.S.

First Occupation \ Present Occupation	White Collar 1	White Collar 2	Blue Collar Skilled	Blue Collar semi-skilled	Blue Collar other	Service workers	Students	Unemployed	Other (farm)	Totals	Percentages
White Collar 1	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	6.2
White Collar 2	1	5	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	8	9.9
Blue Collar Sk.	2	0	5	2	1	3	0	0	0	13	16.0
Blue Collar semi-skilled	2	1	6	5	2	3	0	0	0	19	23.5
Blue Collar other	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	2.5
Service workers	5	0	3	6	1	14	0	1	0	30	37.8
Students	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1.2
Unemployed	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1.2
Other (farm)	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2.5
Totals	17	7	15	15	5	20	0	2	0	81	100.0
Percentages	21	8.6	18.5	18.5	6.2	24.7	0	2.5	0		

Source: Fordham University Sample.

$\frac{36}{81} \times 100 = 44.4\%$
a change of 55.6%

According to Table 53, white collar occupations accounted for 44.3% of female occupations upon entry to the U.S. labor market, but only 9.9% of the women in our study listed this as their present occupation. On the other hand, 55% were employed in blue collar positions as an initial occupation, while only 37.4% listed this as current occupation (blue collar operative positions decreased). Service occupations fell slightly as well.

Table 53: Females, First Occupation in the U.S. by Present Occupation in the U.S..

First Occupation \ Present Occupation	White Collar 1	White Collar 2	Blue Collar skilled	Blue Collar semi-skilled	Blue Collar other	Service Workers	Housewife	Students	Unemployed	Totals	Percentages
White Collar 1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	2.2
White Collar 2	0	1	0	1	0	1	2	2	2	11	18.1
Blue Collar skilled	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	4	4.4
Blue Collar semi-skilled	2	0	0	24	0	2	11	0	1	40	44.0
Blue Collar other	0	1	0	1	1	2	1	0	0	6	6.6
Service workers	0	2	0	1	0	9	1	0	0	13	14.3
Housewife	0	0	0	3	0	1	9	0	0	13	14.3
Students	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1.1
Unemployed	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1.1
Totals	3	6	2	31	1	15	25	3	5	91	100.0
Percentages	3.3	6.6	2.2	34.1	1.1	16.5	27.5	3.3	5.5		

Sources. Fordham University Sample.

$\frac{31}{24}$ x 100 = 96% a change of 44%

The most important change for women, and one that affected all others, was passage to the occupational activity of housewife (from 14.3% upon arrival, to 27.5% at present). There was an increase of 92% in this area. Twelve women (13.2% of the women in the sample) left blue collar occupations to become housewives.

By Branch of Economic Activity: (Table 54 and 55)

36.6% of the men had had employment in the manufacturing sector, which dropped to 30.5% in present employment data. The percentage employed in Services A increased from 14.6% to 22% (a significant increase of 50%). Participation in Services B increased from 20.7% to 25.6%. Mobility for men entailed a move from industrial employment to employment in the services. Those employed in the eating sector fell from 22% to 14.6%. In sum, 58% of the men had changed branches of economic activity.

Table 54: Males: Present Industrial Occupation in the U.S. compared with First Industrial Occupation in the U.S.

First Industrial Occup. \ Present Industrial Occupation	Manufacture Durable	Manufacture Non-durable	Services A	Services B	Trade	Eating/ Drinking	Housewife	Students and Other Non-working	Total	Percent
Manufacture Durable	4	2	2	6	0	0	0	0	14	17.1
Manufacture Non-durable	1	7	5	3	0	0	0	0	16	19.5
Services A	0	0	7	0	2	3	0	0	12	14.6
Services B	2	3	1	8	1	1	0	1	17	20.7
Trade	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3.7
Eating/ Drinking	1	2	2	4	1	8	0	0	18	22.0
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Students and Other Non-working	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	2.4
Total	9	16	18	21	4	12	0	2	82	100.0
Percentages	11.0	19.5	22.0	25.6	4.9	14.6	0	2.4		

$\frac{14}{11}$ x 100 = 127% a change of 27%

Source: Fordham University Survey

Table 55: Females: Present Industrial Occupation in the U.S. compared with First Industrial Occupeton in the U.S.

Present Industrial Occup. / First Industrial Occup.	Manufacture Durable	Manufacture Non-durable	Services A	Services B	Trade	Eating/Drinking	Housewife	Students and Other Non-working	Totals	Percentage
Manufacture Durable	7	3	1	2	1	0	5	1	20	21.5
Manufacture Non-durable	4	15	2	2	0	0	8	1	32	34.4
Services A	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	3	3.2
Services B	0	1	3	5	1	1	1	0	12	12.9
Trade	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	2	5	5.4
Eating/ Drinking	0	1	0	3	0	0	1	0	5	5.4
Housewife	1	3	0	1	0	0	9	0	14	15.1
Students and Others Non-working	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	2.2
Totals	13	24	7	13	2	1	27	6	93	100.0
Percentages	14.0	25.8	7.5	14.0	2.2	1.1	29.0	6.5		

$\frac{28}{77}$ x 100=36.4% a change of 63.6%

Source: Fordham University Sample

Employment of women in industry fell from 56% to 49%, while participation in both Services A and Services B increased. The principal reason for this drop in industrial employment is the exit of many women from the labor market, and their assumptrion of the activity of housewife (13 in total, which is 14% of the women in our sample). 63% of the women changed branches of economic activity.

Broad Trends in Occupational Mobility, by Sex (Table 56)

1) Men and women presented changes in occupation and branch of activity with their entrance to the North American labor market stemming from not only to effective changes in occupational activities and branch of activity, but also from to the fact that a large percentage of these men and women had not been part of the economically. active population in Colombia.

2) The changes for men and women upon assumption of activity in the U.S. are the following:

In terms of occupational group, women experienced less change than men between their first occupation in the U.S. and their occupation of longest duration in the U.S. (only 22.5% and 20.2%). Half of the men experienced mobility, while only a quarter of the women did.

Both sexes experienced more mobility of terms of branch of economic activity than in occupational mobility, but more so for women than men. There was a greater correspondence between occupational mobility and mobility by branch of activity for men (even if there was a slightly greater amount of mobility by branch of activity).

Table 56: Percentage of Change in the Same Occupations and Industries by Men and Women during 5 time Periods of the Labor History of Colombian Immigrants.

	Men	Women	
1-Occupation of longest duration in Colombia by first occupation in the U.S.	77.5*	80.4**	Occupational activity
Industry of longest duration in Colombia by first industry in the U.S.	82.8	83.7	Economic activity branch
2-Occupation of longest duration in Colombia by occupation of longest duration in the U.S.	82.5	78.3	Occupational activity
Industry of longest duration in Colombia by industry of longest duration in U.S.	68.3	79.6	Economic activity branch
3-First occupation in U.S. by Occupation of longest duration in U.S.	49.7 50.0	28.5 20.2	Occupational group Occupational activity
First Industry in U.S. by industry of longest duration in U.S.	56.0	36.0	Economic activity branch
4-First occupation in U.S. by present occupation in U.S.	59.6 55.0	48.0 44.0	Occupational group Occupational activity
First industry in U.S. by present industry in U.S.	58.0	63.6	Economic activity branch
5-Occupation of longest duration in U.S. by present occupation in U.S.	23.5 —	36.3 33.0	Occupational group Occupational activity
Industry of longest duration in U.S. by present industry in U.S.	21.0	39.4	Economic activity branch

*(Before 25.1% were economically inactive; afterwards, only 1.3%)

**(Before 48%, after 15.2%).

Source: Tables 48-55, and other cross-tabulations.

This broad tendency is even clearer in terms of the mobility experienced between first occupation and present occupation in the U.S. labor market:

A) Women experienced less mobility in occupational group than men: 44-48%, as opposed to 55% for men (although the mobility of women was certainly greater between occupation of longest duration and present occupation).

B) For both sexes there was more mobility in terms of branch of activity, although this change was considerably higher for women (63.6%), while occupational group mobility was slightly greater among men.

C) The most significant changes experienced by women seem to be between the occupation of longest duration in the U.S. and present occupation.

In conclusion, there is considerably less mobility by occupational group for Colombian women in the New York labor market than for men. Women experienced much greater mobility by branch of activity. Mobility by branch of activity was also slightly greater occupational mobility among men.

There is, then, a certain tendency of segmentation in the labor market that favors permanency in occupational groups, while allowing for changes in branches of activity, particularly in the case of women. Women do tend to remain longer in jobs in the so-called secondary labor market.

Finally, between occupation of longest duration in Colombia and that in the U.S., there is a significantly greater change in occupational activity than branch of activity for men, while for women these percentages are about equal. This reflects the change from an economically non-active population in Colombia to an economically active one in the U.S.

Mobility for Men and Women, in Terms of Occupational Groups and Time of Participation in the U.S. Labor Market

Men

The longer the duration of labor market participation for men in the same cohort, the more they tend to be employed as white collar managers. With the exception of the cohort with 8-12 years of labor market experience, men tend to continue as service workers if this was their first occupation in New York. Men also tend to remain, or to become, skilled blue collar workers (with the exception of those in the cohort with 20 years of experience). As the category of unskilled blue collar workers decreases, that of the skilled blue collar workers tends to increase (cohorts with 13-19 and 4-7 years of experience). Men tend to remain in white clerical or sales positions, or to enter them, in all cohorts except those with 1-3 and 13-19 years of New York labor market experience.

Table 57: First Occupation and Present Occupation by Length of Participation in the U.S. Labor Market (Males). (in raw percentages)

	White I		White II		Skilled Blue		Operative Blue		Unskilled Blue		Service Worker		Student		Unemployed	
	V22	V58	V22	V58	V22	V58	V22	V58	V22	V58	V22	V58	V22	V58	V22	V58
20 years			25	25	50	25		25			25	25				
13 to 19 years		17.1	5.9		11.7	23.6	35.2	11.7		11.7	35.3	35.3	5.9		5.9	
8 to 12 years	6.8	35.7	3.4	7.1	10.4	14.3	21	25	6.8	3.6	48.2	14.3			3.4	
4 to 7 years	15.7	15.7	15.7	15.7	15.7	15.7	26.4	10.6		10.6	26.4	26.4				5.4
1 to 3 years			22.2	11.11	11.11	11.11	22.2	33.3			44.4	44.4				
Less than a year		33.3 (*)			66.6	66.6	33.3									

(*)only one case
V22: First occupation in the U.S. labor market.
V58: Present occupation int the U.S. labor market.

Source: Fordham University Sample, November 1981.

Most men who enter white collar managerial occupations have left occupations such as service worker (see the cohort with 8-12 years of experience). Others come from blue collar operative and white collar clerical and sales positions.

Women

Except for the cohort with 1-3 years of experience in the New York labor market, women tend to decrease their participation in blue collar operative occupations, even though a higher percentage of women than men is employed in these occupations (except for those with 20 years of experience). This decrease is related to the increase in the category of housewife (with the exception of the cohort with 13-19 years of experience).

In addition, women tend to remain in, or to enter, service workers occupations, although those in the cohorts with 8-12 and 20 years of experience do so less frequently. The two main occupational alternatives for women are the activity of housewife and employment in services. Permanence in the subgroup white collar manager occurs for only two cohorts (4-7 and 13-19 years), while only those with relatively few years of experience in the labor market (4-7 and 1-3 years) tend to leave white collar clerical positions. Skilled and unskilled blue collar positions do not offer upward mobility to Colombian women in the New York labor market.

Table 58: First Occupation and Present Occupation by Length of Participation in the U.S. Labor Market (Females) (in raw percentages)

	White I		White II		Skilled Blue		Operative Blue		Unskilled Blue		Service Worker		Housewife		Students		Unemployed	
	22	58	22	58	22	58	22	58	22	58	22	58	22	58	22	58	22	58
20 years			33.3	50			33.3				33.3			50				
13-19 years		13.3	6.7				60	46.7			20	26.7	13.3	6.7				6.7
8-12 years	4.3		8.7	13	8.7	4.3	47.8	43.5	13		17.4	13		17.4		4.3		4.3
4-7 years	4.5	4.8	22.7	4.8	4.5	4.8	36.4	19	9.1		22.7	28.6		33.3		4.8		
1-3 years			18.2	9.1			54.5	54.5			9.1	9.1	18.2	18.2				9.1
Less than a year					10		60	30	10	10		10	20	40				10

Source: Fordham University Sample, November 1981.

Mobility for Colombian Men and Women by Branch of Economic Activity and Cohort of Time of Residence in the U.S.

This analysis demonstrates that industrial employment decreases for women in all cohorts, and the activity of housewife increases in all cohorts but one (11-15 years). Unemployment among women occurs in almost all cohorts. Industrial employment also decreases significantly among men, with the exception of the cohorts with fewer than 2 and 6-10 years, in which industrial employment increases.

In spite of the decrease in industrial employment among women, their participation in these activities is higher than that of men, exxcep for the last cohort. For both sexes, however, as length of residence in the U.S. increases, the probability of industrial employment as present occupation decreases.

Data for the last cohort seems to show that subgroup of the Colombian males having arrived in the most recent period competed with women for industrial employment. This group has a significantly high unemployment rate.

Table 59: Evolution of Employment in the U.S. Labor Market for Colombian Women by Branch of Activity and Length of Residence in the U.S. (in raw percentages)

	Manufacturing		Services A		Services B		Trade		Eating		Housewife		Unemployed	
	V25	V59	V25	V59	V25	V59	V25	V59	V25	V59	V25	V59	V25	V59
16 years or more	57			14.3	14.3				14.3	14.3	14.3	71.4		
11-15 years	63.6	45.5		4.5	13.6	22.7		4.5			22.7	18.2		4.5
6-10 years	54.2	33.3	4.2	4.2	12.5	8.3	12.5	4.2	4.2		12.5	41.7		8.3
3-5 years	52	46		8.3	20	25			12		8	12.5		8.3
2 years or less	56.2	50	12.5	12.5							31.3	31.2		6.2

V 25: First occupation in the U.S. Labor Market.
V 59: Last occupation in the U.S. Labor Market.

Source: Fordham University Sample, November 1981.

Table 60: Evolution of Employment in the U.S. Labor Market for Colombian Men by Length of Residence in the U.S. (in raw percentages)

	Manufacturing		Services A		Services B		Trade		Eating		Unemployed	
	V25	V59	V25	V59	V25	V59	V25	V59	V25	V59	V25	V59
16 years or more	60	20	20	60	40	20						
11-15 years	35.3	11.8	5.9	29.4	17.6	47.1			41.2	11.8		
6-10 years	23.8	28.5	28.6	14.3	28.6	19		19	19	14.3		4.8
3-5 years	33.3	29.6	18.5	22.2	18.5	25.9	7.4		22.2	22.2		
2 years or less	58	66.7		8.3	28	8.3			14	8.3		8.3

V 25: First occupation in the U.S. Labor Market
V 59: Last occupation in the U.S. Labor Market.

Source: Fordham University Sample, November 1981.

For both men and women (although not for men in the 6-10 yars cohort), employment in the Service A sector increases, although much more for men. In other words, men tend to move toward these jobs more than women. Men have a relatively higher rate of participation in the Service B sector than women, in both the first and present occupations. However, no clear tendency emerges by cohorts for either sex, although the cohort for shortest period of residence (2 years or less) drops sharply for men, and no percentage exists for women. This seems to be related to the employment in Services A for this last cohort.

Occupational Structure and Educational Levels of Male and Female Colombian Informants in Present Occupation

Tables 61 and 62 demonstrate that men in all occupational groups and almost all branches of activity (except for trade and restaurant jobs) have a higher average of years of education than women. The general average for men in 10.9 years, while for women, it is 8.7 years.

Table 61: Mean Number of Years of Schooling, by Major Occupational Groups and Sex of Colombian Immigrants in NYC, 1981.

	White Collar I	White Collar II	Skilled Blue C.	Oper. Blue C.	Other Blue C.	Serv.	Housewife	Student	Unemployed	Total Avrg.
Men N=82	13.2	11.8	10.4	9.33	8.3	10.5	—	—	13.0	10.9
Women N=94	10.3	9.6	7.0	7.97	5.5	8.8	8.7	14.7	10.6	8.7
										9.7

Source: Fordham University Sample, November 1981.

Table 62: Mean Number of Years of Schooling, by Economic Activity Branches and Sex of Colombian Immigrants in NYC, 1981.

	Manufac. durable	Manufac. non-dur.	Serv. A	Serv. B	Trade	Eating	Housewife	Student + unemployed
Men N=82	10.4	9.87	13.5	10.1	11.0	10.0	—	13.0
Women N=94	9.2	7.70	8.6	8.0	12.0	11.0	8.7	12.2

Source: Fordham University Sample, November 1981.

Males with the greatest average years of schooling are found in the White Collar 1 occupations (13.2 years), followed by the subgroup of unemployed males, with 13.0 years of education. Interestingly enough, women with the highest average years of schooling (14.7% years) are found in the occupational group of "students." No men in our sample were in this subgroup.

By branch of activity, men with the highest averages were found in Services A (13.5 years), followed by those in the subgroup of unemployed. Women with the highest averages were found in the unemployed group (12.2 years) and in trade (12.0 years).

Men with the lowest educational levels were found in blue collar activities and in the manufacturing of non-durable goods. Women with the lowest level od education were also found in these two activities, in addition to the Services B sector. Women active as housewives had educational levels similar to the general averages for women.

The data indicate a correspondence between educational level and type of occupational and employment by branch of activity in general, white collar ocuppations had the highest averages (especially

for men), while blue collar occupations had the lowest averages especially unskilled blue collar and operative positions). The latter was especially true for women.

It is clear that those with the lowest educational levels (especially women) are employed in industry and in the manfacture of non-durable goods.

Those employed in the service occupations are, surprisingly, not those with the lowest educational levels, but those with intermediate level of schooling (almost the general average). This was true for both men and women.

Concluding, one can say that Colombian migrants with the lowest educational levels (around 8 years of schooling) tend to be employed in blue collar positions in the New York labor market; those with an intermediate level of schooling(9.0-9.5 years) find employment in service occupations; and those in white collar occupations have the highest educational levels (around 11 years of schooling). Men and women with an intermediate level of schooling demonstrate different tendencies by branch of economic activity. For example, women with this level of schooling are employed moe often than not in trade, restaurant jobs, and durable goods manufacturing. Men with this educa tional level are employed in Services A, while few women with this educational level are employed in the services.

Finally, the only employment opportunity for housewives with an intermediate level of schooling lies in the service worker occupations, in both of the service sectors. They have little chance to achieve upward occupational mobility, and most probably enter only blue collar activities upon insertion into the labor market.

Occupational Characteristics of the Colombian Population in Queens
(last occupation in 1981)

Analysis of the present occupations of the informants, their spouses, and other members of the household (secondary workers), in terms of occupational group and branch of activity, shows that women as a whole, in terms of all possible activities, are quite frequently housewives (25.6%), and students (11.6%). If we consider only the economically active population, the bulk of women in our sample, almost 30% are found in the non-durable goods industries, followed by the durable goods industries (17.7%). Together, these two categories comprise 47.5% of the women in the labor force. We also find a high rate of unemployment among women (as was seen earlier). (See Table 63.)

By occupational group, 40.3% are blue collar "operatives," in manufacturing, followed by those employed as service workers, almost all of whom are found in the cleaning and maintenance of buildings and apartments. Next is the subgroup of white collar sales and clerical workers (15.3%). One should note the limited importance of white collar and skilled blue collar positions among the women in our sample.

Table 63: Total of Females in the Sample by Economic Sector and Occupational Branch.

ECONOMIC SECTOR	OCCUPATIONAL BRANCH: White Collar 1	White Collar 2	Blue Collar Sk.	Blue C. semsk.	Blue C. Others	Serv. Workers	Housewife	Students	Unemployed	Disabled	Totals	% All Activities	% Econ. Active Population
Manufacturing durable goods	2	2	0	14		1					22	11	17.7
Non-durable		1		36							37	18.6	29.8
Services A	6	12			2	2					22	11	17.7
Services B			1			17					18	9	14.5
Trade	1	3									4	2	3.2
Eating/ Drinking		1			1	2					4	2	3.2
Others													
Housewife							51				51	25.6	
Students								23			23	11.6	
Unemployed									17		17	8.5	13.7
Disabled										1	1	0.5	
% All Actvs.	4.5	9.5	2.0	25.1	1.5	11.0	25.6	11.6	8.5	.5	100	100.0	
% Econ. Act. Population	7.3	15.3	3.2	40.3	2.4	17.7			13.7		100		100.0
Total	9	19	4	50	3	22	51	23	17	1	199		

White Collar 1: Professional and technical managers and administrators.
White Collar 2: Sales and clerical workers.
Services A: Professional and specialized services including government, health, education, finance, and transportation.
Blue Collar skilled: craft and kindred workers.
Blue Collar semsk.: Operatives and Transportation.
Blue Collar others: unskilled.
Services B: Including cleaning, maintenance, vigilance, personal service, hotel service, home reparation services, etc.

Source: Fordham University Sample.

Table 64: Female Informants: Present Occupation in the United States.

ECONOMIC SECTOR	OCCUPATIONAL BRANCH: White Collar 1	White Collar 2	Blue Collar Sk.	Blue C. semsk.	Blue C. Others	Serv. Workers	Housewife	Students	Unemployed	Disabled	Totals	% All Activities	% Econ. Active Population
Manufacturing durable goods	2	1	1	8		1					13	14.3	20.6
Non-durable				23							23	25.3	36.5
Services A	1	4			1	1					7	7.7	11.1
Services B			1			12					13	14.3	20.6
Trade		1									1	1.1	1.6
Eating/ Drinking						1					1	1.1	1.6
Others													
Housewife							25				25	27.5	
Students								3			3	3.3	
Unemployed									5		5	5.5	7.9
Disabled													
% All Actvs.	3.3	6.6	2.2	34	1.1	16.5	27.5	3.3	5.5		100.0		
% Econ. Act. Population	4.8	9.5	3.2	49.2	1.6	23.8			7.9		100.0		
Total	3	6	2	31	1	15	25	3	5		91		

White Collar 1: Professional and technical managers and administrators.
White Collar 2: Sales and clerical workers.
Services A: Professional and specialized services including government, health, education, finance, and transportation.
Blue Collar skilled: craft and kindred workers.
Blue Collar semsk.: Operatives and Transportation.
Blue Collar others: unskilled.
Services B: Including cleaning, maintenance, vigilance, personal service, hotel service, home reparation services, etc.

Source: Fordham University Sample.

Table 65 : Males: Occupation of Spouse.

ECONOMIC SECTOR	White Collar 1	White Collar 2	Blue Collar sk.	Blue C. semsk.	Blue C. Others	Serv. Workers	Housewife	Students	Unemployed	Disabled	Totals	% All Activities	% Econ. Active Population
Manufacturing durable goods				3							3	7.3	13.6
Non-durable		1		5							6	14.3	27.3
Services A	3	6									9	22	41
Services B						3					3	7.3	13.6
Trade		1									1	2.4	4.5
Eating/ Drinking													
Others													
Housewife							18				18	43.9	
Students								1			1	2.4	
Unemployed													
Disabled													
% All Actvs.	7.3	19.5		19.5		7.3	43.9	2.4			100%		
% Econ. Act. Population	13.6	36.4		36.4		13.6					100%		
Total	3	8		8		3	18	1			41		

White Collar 1: Professional and technical managers and administrators.
White Collar 2: Sales and clerical workers.
Services A: Professional and specialized services including government, health, education, finance, and transportation.
Blue Collar skilled: craft and kindred workers.
Blue Collar semsk.: Operatives and Transportation.
Blue Collar others: unskilled.
Services B: Including cleaning, maintenance, vigilance, personal service, hotel service, home reparation services, etc.

Source: Fordham University Sample.

These groups vary according to the position of the informant in the household. In Table 64, we see that 57.1% of the informants work in industry (36.5% are in non-durable goods industries). According to Table 65, 35% are female "other members" of the household. Wives comprise 41% of female industrial workers, as illustrated in Table 66.

A great number of wives are characterized as housewives as well (44%), while only 12% of the female "other household members" are housewives, and 27% of the female informants are active in this capacity (slightly higher than the average percentage for all females).

The occupation of blue collar "operative" is more common among female informants (49.2%) than among female "other members" (27.5%). The incidence of white collar sales and clerical positions is proportionately higher among female informants (36.4%), employment which is as important for them as blue collar "operative" positions.

Student status is most common among female "other members" of the household (28.4%), which is true also of the high unemployment rate of 39%.

In other words, the general tendencies remain consistant among women: predominance of the category "blue collar" and of employment in industry. However, some categories change their concentration or are reinforced according to the position of women in the household: white collar -- clerical and service worker, in addition to the changes evident in the weight of housewives and students.

Table 66: Previous Occupations of Other Female Members of the Household (15 years and over)*

ECONOMIC SECTOR	OCCUPATIONAL BRANCH: White Collar 1	White Collar 2	Blue Collar Sk.	Blue C. semsk.	Blue C. Others	Serv. Workers	Housewife	Students	Unemployed	Disabled	Totals	% All Activities	% Econ. Active Population	
Manufacturing durable goods		1	2	3							6	9.0	15.0	
Non-durable				8							8	11.9	20.0	
Services A	2	2			1	1					6	9.0	15.0	
Services B						2					2	3.0	5.0	
Trade		1									2	3.0	5.0	
Eating/ Drinking		1			1	1					3	4.5	7.5	
Others														
Housewife							8				8	11.9		
Students								19			19	28.4		
Unemployed									12		12	17.9	30.0	
Disabled										1	1	1.5		
% All Actvs.	4.5	7.5	3.0	16.4	3.0	6.0	11.9	28.4	17.9	1.5	100			
% Econ. Act. Population	7.5	12.5	5.0	27.5	5.0	10.0			30.0		100			
Total	3	5	2	11	2	4	8	19	12	1	67			*

*Present occupation of female members of the household 15 years and over other than the informant and/or spouse.

White Collar 1: Professional and technical managers and administrators.
White Collar 2: Sales and clerical workers.
Services A: Professional and specialized services including government, health, education, finance, and transportation.
Blue Collar skilled: craft and kindred workers.
Blue Collar semsk.: Operatives and Transportation.
Blue Collar others: unskilled.
Services B: Including cleaning, maintenance, vigilance, personal service, hotel service, home reparation services, etc.

Source: Fordham University Sample.

Table 67: Total Males in the Sample by Economic Sector and Occupational Branch.

ECONOMIC SECTOR	OCCUPATIONAL BRANCH: White Collar 1	White Collar 2	Blue Collar Sk.	Blue C. semsk.	Blue C. Others	Serv. Workers	Housewife	Students	Unemployed	Disabled	Totals	% All Activities	% Econ. Active Population
Manufacturing durable goods	2		8	8		1					19	9.0	9.8
Non-durable	1	2	5	19							27	12.7	14.0
Services A	15	5	6	4	8	3					41	19.3	21.2
Services B	10	5	10	1	4	20					50	23.6	26.0
Trade	5	1	4			1					11	5.2	5.7
Eating/ Drinking	6	2	8	3	1	15					35	16.5	18.3
Others													
Housewife													
Students								18			18	8.5	
Unemployed									10		10	4.7	5.2
Disabled										1	1	0.5	
% All Actvs.	18.4	7.0	19.3	16.5	6.1	18.9		8.5	4.7	0.5	100.0	100.0	
% Econ. Act. Population	20.4	7.8	21.2	18.1	6.7	20.7			5.2		100.0		100.0
Total	39	15	41	35	13	40		18	10	1	212		

White Collar 1: Professional and technical managers and administrators.
White Collar 2: Sales and clerical workers.
Services A: Professional and specialized services including government, health, education, finance, and transportation.
Blue Collar skilled: craft and kindred workers.
Blue Collar semsk.: Operatives and Transportation.
Blue Collar others: unskilled.
Services B: Including cleaning, maintenance, vigilance, personal service, hotel service, home reparation services, etc.

Source: Fordham University Sample.

Table 68: Male Informants: Present Occupation in the United States.

ECONOMIC SECTOR	White Collar 1	White Collar 2	Blue Collar Sk.	Blue C. semsk.	Blue C. Others	Serv. Workers	Housewife	Students	Unemployed	Disabled	Totals	% All Activities	% Econ. Active Population
Manufacturing durable goods	0		5	4							9	11.1	11.1
Non-durable	1	1	3	10							15	18.5	18.5
Services A	8	4	2		2	2					18	22.2	22.2
Services B	3		4	1	3	10					21	36.2	36.2
Trade	3	1									4	4.9	4.9
Eating/ Drinking	2	1	1			8					12	14.8	14.8
Others													
Housewife													
Students													
Unemployed									2		2	2.5	2.5
Disabled													
% All Actvs.	21.0	8.6	18.5	18.5	6.2	24.7			2.5		100.0		
% Econ. Act. Population	21.0	8.6	18.5	18.5	6.2	24.7			2.5		100.0		
Total	17	7	15	15	5	20			2		81		

White Collar 1: Professional and technical managers and administrators.
White Collar 2: Sales and clerical workers.
Services A: Professional and specialized services including government, health, education, finance, and transportation.
Blue Collar skilled: craft and kindred workers.
Blue Collar semsk.: Operatives and Transportation.
Blue Collar others: unskilled.
Services B: Including cleaning, maintenance, vigilance, personal service, hotel service, home reparation services, etc.

Source: Fordham University Sample.

The main concentration of men is in the service activities, with 47.2%, followed by activity in industry (23.8%). Third in importance is the subgroup of restaurants, with 18.13%. Unemployment among men is relatively low (5.2%).

Skilled blue collar, semi-skilled blue collar, service worker, and white collar are the most important occupations for men. There is a greater distribution of occupations for men than for women, two of which, of nigher status,have quite high concentrations. Clearly, this means men have better opportunities for mobility than women.

Male informants predominate in the services (58.4%), as "service workers" (24.7%) and in white collar positions: managers, professionals, etc. (21%). Husbands are also concentrated in the services, but as skilled blue collar and service workers. Male "other household members" on the other hand, tend to be employed in the restaurant sector as semi-skilled blue collar service workers.

Table 69: Females: Occupation of Spouse.

ECONOMIC SECTOR	White Collar 1	White Collar 2	Blue Collar Sk.	Blue C. semsk.	Blue C. Others	Serv. Workers	Housewife	Students	Unemployed	Disabled	Totals	% All Activities	% Econ. Active Population
Manufacturing durable goods			3	4		1					8	14.5	14.8
Non-durable		1	1	4							6	10.9	11.1
Services A	2		3	1	6	1					13	23.6	24.0
Services B	1		6			10					17	31.0	31.2
Trade	1										1	1.8	1.9
Eating/ Drinking	4	1				3					8	14.5	14.8
Others													
Housewife													
Students								1			1	1.8	
Unemployed									1		1	1.8	1.9
Disabled													
% All Actvs.	14.5	3.6	23.6	16.4	10.9	27.3		1.8	1.8		100.0		
% Econ. Act. Population	14.8	3.7	24.0	16.7	11.1	27.8			1.9		100.0		
Total	8	2	13	9	6	15		1	1		55		

White Collar 1: Professional and technical managers and administrators.
White Collar 2: Sales and clerical workers.
Services A: Professional and specialised services including government, health, education, finance, and transportation.
Blue Collar skilled: craft and kindred workers.
Blue Collar semsk.: Operatives and Transportation.
Blue Collar others: unskilled.
Services B: Including cleaning, maintenance, vigilance, personal service, hotel service, home reparation services, etc.

Source: Fordham University Sample.

Table 70: Males: Occupations of Other Male Members of the Household (15 years and over).*

ECONOMIC SECTOR	White Collar 1	White Collar 2	Blue Collar Sk.	Blue C. semsk.	Blue C. Others	Serv. Workers	Housewife	Students	Unemployed	Disabled	Totals	% All Activities	% Econ. Active Population
Manufacturing durable goods	2										2	2.6	3.4
Non-durable			1		4	1					6	7.9	10.3
Services A	5	1	1	3							10	13.2	17.2
Services B	6	5			1						12	15.8	
Trade	1		4			1					6	7.9	10.3
Eating/ Drinking			7	3	1	4					15	19.7	20.7
Others													
Housewife													
Students								17			17	22.4	
Unemployed									7		7	9.2	12.0
Disabled										1	1	1.3	
% All Actvs.	18.4	7.9	17.1	7.9	7.9	7.9		22.4	9.2	1.3	100.0		
% Econ. Act. Population	24.0	10.3	22.4	10.3	10.3	10.3			12.0		100.0		
Total	14	6	13	6	6	6		17	7	1	76		

*Present occupation of male members of the household 15 years and over, other that the informant and /or spouse.

White Collar 1: Professional and technical managers and administrators.
White Collar 2: Sales and clerical workers.
Services A: Professional and specialised services including government, health, education, finance, and transportation.
Blue Collar skilled: craft and kindred workers.
Blue Collar semsk.: Operatives and Transportation.
Blue Collar others: unskilled.
Services B: Including cleaning, maintenance, vigilance, personal service, hotel service, home reparation services, etc.

Source: Fordham University Sample.

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However, the subgroup of white collar managers and professionals is also high in the services. Secondary members of the household have the highest rate of unemployment (12%), a phenomenon which reinforces our hypothesis of the existence of "networks" in the survival of Colombian immigrants in the labor market.

Colombian women within the occupational structure in New York are in less favorable conditions than men for the realization of mobility to white collar position (managers and professionals), and skilled blue collar positions. They are also less frequently employed in the specialized and professional services. The specialization of women in industrial activities (even for female "other household members") and in semi-skilled blue collar and service workers occupations is considerable.

IX TYPES OF FIRMS EMPLOYING COLOMBIANS

A sizeable portion of the female population tends to concentrate in firms with fewer than ten employees (35.7%), while men tend to concentrate in firms with a range of 51-100 employees (23%), although a significant number of men are also employed in firms with less than ten employees (see Table 71). Both sexes tend to have a more or less even distibution of economically active persons in the range of 21-50 and 51-100 workers per firm. Nevertheless, the general tendency is for men to be employed in medium firms (between 21-100 workers). The bulk of the sample (both sexes) was found in the 21-50 and 51-100 ranges, that is in small and medium-sized establishments. One should note, however, that 24.5% of all Colombian workers are employed in firms of more than 100 employees, (25% of the women and 24% of the men).

Table 71: Distribution, by Sex, of Size of Firms Employing Colombians

	Men	%	Women	%	Total	%
less than 10	16	21.3	20	35.7	36	27.5
11-20	9	12.	4	7.1	13	9.9
21-50	15	20.	9	16.1	24	18.3
51-100	17	22.7	9	16.1	26	19.8
101-500	11	14.7	9	16.1	20	15.3
501 or more	7	9.3	5	8.9	12	9.2
N=131	75	100.	56	100	131	100

Source: Fordham University Sample, November 1981

Analysis of size of firms by branch of economic activity (Table 72) reveals that there is an important subgroup of firms with fewer than ten employees in the durable goods industries (jewlery and miscellaneous durable goods). However, 40% of the durable goods companies employ between 21-50 and 51-100 workers, while 20% of the firms in question (4) employ more than 500 workers. The bulk of Colombians working in the non-durable goods industries are found in medium-sized concerns, those ranging from 21-50 and 51-100 employees. This would correspond to the "prototype" of the garment factory that employs Colombians in our sample. There are three subgroups in the specialized services and professional services: firms employing fewer than ten workers (almost all of which are professionals' offices), and those firms with from 1-100 and 101-500 employees (medium and large companies). In the cleaning maintenance services there is a concentration of Colombians in firms with fewer than 20 employees (41.3%), but

Table 72: Distribution by Branch of Activity of Firms Employing Colombians

	less than 10	11-20	21-50	51-100	101-500	500+	Total
manufacture-durable goods	25.0% 5 15.6%	5.0% 1 7.7%	20.0% 4 16.7%	10.0% 4 16.0%	10.0% 2 10.0%	20.0% 4 33.3%	100% 20
manufacture-non-durable goods	8.6% 3 9.4%	8.6% 3 23.1%	31.4% 11 45.8%	34.3% 12 48.0%	11.4% 4 20.0%	5.7% 2 16.7%	100% 35
Services A	39.1% 9 28.1%	4.3% 1 7.7%	4.3% 1 4.2%	21.7% 5 20.0%	26.0% 6 30.0%	4.3% 1 8.3%	100% 23
Services B	31.0% 9 28.1%	10.3% 3 23.1%	13.8% 4 16.7%	3.4% 1 4.0%	24.1% 7 35.0%	17.2% 5 41.7%	100% 29
Trade	66.7% 4 12.5%	16.7% 1 7.7%	0	0	16.7% 1 5.0%	0	100% 6
Eating/Drinking	15.4% 2 6.3%	30.8% 4 30.8%	30.8% 4 16.7%	23.0% 3 12.0%	0	0	100% 13
	32	13	24	25	20	12	126
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	

Source: Fordham University Sample, November 1981

equally large concentration in firms of more than 100 employees (41.33%). Colombians active in commerce are found in firms with fewer than 10 employees (66.7%), and those found in the restaurant sector vary in four ranges, although the majority are employed in concerns with 11-20 and 21-50 employees.

-- Most of the Colombians studied (a little less than 50%) are found in firms in which all or almost all of the employees are of Hispanic origin (Table 73). If we add those companies employing both Hispanics and blacks, this figure rises to 62.5%. This phenomenon is even more pronounced for women, because 54.4% of the Colombian women in our sample work in firms employing only Hispanics. The figure for men in this regard was only 43%. Men tended to concentrate more in firms employing other ethnic groups: blacks (19%) and whites (34.2%). It is interesting to note that for both sexes, the percentage of the co-employment of Hispanics with whites is higher than that of co-employment with blacks.

Table 73: Ethnic Composition of Firms Employing Colombians, by Branch of Activity and Sex.

	Men: Mostly Hisp.	Men: Hispanics + Blacks	Men: Hispanics + Whites	Men: Other (*)	Men: Total	Women: Mostly Hisp.	Women: Hispanics + Blacks	Women: Hispanics + Whites	Women: Other (*)	Women: Total	Both Sexes: Mostly Hisp.	Both Sexes: Hispanics + Blacks	Both Sexes: Hispanics + Whites	Both Sexes: Other
Manufacturing durable	4 77.7%	3	1 22.3%	1	9	6 50%	3	3 25%	0	12	10 47.6%	6	4	1
Non-durable	7 50%	1	7 50%	1	16	16 67.7%	2 8.33%	2 8.33%	4 16.7%	24	23 57.5%	3	9	5
Services A	4 22.2%	6 72.2%	7	1 5.6%	18	3 43%	0	1 43%	1	7	7	6	10 60%	2
Services B	2 65%	4	7 35%	0	20	3 65.3%	0	3	3	11	14 65%	4	10	3
Trade	4 100%	0	0	0	4	1	0	1	0	2	5 83.3%	0	1	0
Eating	6 50%	1 50%	5	0	12	0	0	1	0	1	6 46.2%	1	6	0
	34	15	27	3	79	31	5	13	8	57	65	20	40	11
	43%	19%	34.2%	3.8%	100%	54.4%	8.8%	22.8%	14%	100%	47.8%	14.7%	29.4%	8%
	62%					63.2%					62.5%			

*The job is at home or door to door. B=136

Source: Fordham University Sample, November 1981.

If we examine employment by ethnicity in terms of branch of activity, we find that firms employing only, or almost all, Hispanics are mostly in trade activities and in industries manufacturing durable and non-durable goods. Once again, this tendency is more marked for women (67%), especially in manufacturing firms producing non-durable goods (typically the garment industry), but it also occurs in the production of durable goods (50%). The highest mixture of Hipanics and whites is found in the professional services and specialized services, while in other types of service activities, such as cleaning and maintenance, a purely Hispanic working population predominates. However, some firms with a mixed Hispanic-white workforce do exist in these services.

In brief, manufacturing and commercial firms tend to have the highest concentration of Hispanics in their workforces, while there is greater ethnic heterogeneity in the services and in the restaurant business.

-- There are Hispanic managers or owners in 25.8% of the companies in which Colombians in our sample work (Table 74), although the percentage is higher for female Colombian workers (29.6%). Hispanic proprietors and managers are concentrated in the non-durable goods industries (garment) and in the service sector, in cleaning maintenance concerns (33.3% in each of these activities) (see Table 75). Of these 56.3% are owners of firms with fewer than ten employees. However, there is an important subgroup of Hispanic proprietors with companies employing from 21-50 and 51-100 employees (see Table 76). Although in broader terms, only 25% of those employing Colombians are Hispanics, qualification of the analysis shows that the majority of proprietors of small businesses employing Colombians are of Hispanic origin.

Table 74: Ethnicity of Owner or Manager of Company.

	Men		Women		Total	
Hispanic Owner or Manager	17	23%	16	29.6%	33	25.8%
Other	57	77%	38	70.4%	95	74.2%
	74	100%	54	100.0%	128	100.0%

N=128

Source: Fordham University Sample, November 1981.

Table 75: Ethnicity of Manager by Branch of Activity.

	Hispanic Proprietor or Manager		Other	
Manufacturing durable	0		20 100	21.3%
Non-durable	10 27.8%	33.3	26 72.2%	27.7%
Services A	4 19.0%	13.3%	17 81.0%	18.1%
Services B	10 33.3%	33.3%	20 66.7%	21.3%
Trade	3 50.0%	10.0%	3 50.0%	3.2%
Restaurants	3 27.3%	10.0%	8 72.7%	8.5%
	30 24.2%	100.0%	94 75.8%	100.0%

N=124

Source: Fordham University Sample, November 1981.

Table 76: Ethnicity of Proprietor or Manager by Size of Establishment.

	10	11-20	21-50	51-100	101-500	500 or more	
Hispanic Proprietor or Manager	36.1 % → 18	3.1% → 1	19.6% → 5	9.4% → 3	6.3% → 2	3.1% → 1	100%
	62.1 % ↓	7.7%	20.8%	12.0%	10.0%	8.3%	
Other	11	12	19	22	18	11	
	37.9 %	92.3%	79.2%	88.0%	90.0%	91.7%	
Total	29	13	24	25	20	12	
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
				N=123			

Source: Fordham University Sample, November 1981.

Table 77: Presence of Unions in Firms Employing Colombians, by Branch of Activity and Sex of Colombian Employees.

	Men							Women					
	Manf. durable	Manf. Non-dur.	Serv. A	Serv. B	Trade	Eating	Total	Manf. durable	Manf. Non-dur.	Serv. A	Serv. B	Trade	Eating	Total
Not present	5	2	8	9	3	5	32	9	8	5	6	2		30
	62.5%	15.4%		45.0%			46.0%	69.0%	38.0%		54.5%			57.7%
Present	3	11	7	11	0	5	37	4	13	0	5	0		22
	37.5%	84.6%		55.0%			54.0%	31.0%	62.0%		45.5%			42.3%
	8	13	15	20	3	10	69	13	21	5	11	2		52
	100.0%	100.0%		100.0%			100.0%	100.0%	100.0%		100.0%			100.0%
N=121														

Source: Fordham University Sample, November 1981.

Interestingly enough, unions predominate in the non-durable goods industries, for both men and women (84.6% and 62% respectively) and in the cleaning services for men (55%), while in the production of durable goods few unions exist (for men as well as women). The same holds true for specialized services and commerce. In the case of men in the specialized services, however, there is a high percentage of unionized companies (46.7%). Half of the restaurants employing Colombian men are unionized. The tendency toward unionization seems to be related more to size of firm, than to the branch of activity (Table 78).

Table 78: Presence of Unions, by Size of Firms Employing Colombian Immigrants in N.Y.C.

	less than 10 workers	11-20 workers	21-50 workers	51-100 workers	101-500 workers	501 + more workers	Total
Unions	5	3	14	15	14	8	59
	8.5	5.0	23.7	25.4	23.7	13.6	49.6
	16.7	25.0	58.3	68.2	73.7	66.7	
	4.2	2.5	11.7	12.6	11.7	6.7	
Non-Unions	25	9	10	7	5	4	60
	41.6	15.0	16.7	11.7	8.9	6.7	50.4
	83.3	75.0	41.7	31.8	26.3	33.3	
	21.0	7.5	8.4	5.9	4.2	3.4	
Total	30	12	24	22	19	12	119
	25.2	10.1	20.1	18.5	15.9	10.1	100.0

Source: Fordham University Sample, November 1981.

It is interesting to note that the principal mechanism of insertion to the labor market for our informants, in terms present employment in through friends and relatives, for both men and women (70.7% and 75.4%, respectively). This is what facilitates the communication between the demand for labor and the supply of migrant workers. Above all, this creates the conditions for the potential existence of "labor enclaves," or jobs in small-sized firms based upon the labor of the Colombian immigrant community (Table 79).

Table 79: Means of Insertion to Labor Market used by Informants in Present Job.

	Men		Women	
Friends or relatives	53	70.7%	43	75.4%
Direct solicitation	9	12.0%	4	7.0%
Recruitment by company	3	4.0%	1	1.8%
Newspaper advertisements	5	6.7%	7	12.3%
Employment Agency	-		1	1.8%
Other means	5	6.7%	1	1.8%
	75	100.0%	57	100.0%

Source: Fordham University Sample, November 1981.

Preliminary analysis of these variables leads one to conclude that the Colombians in our sample (as recent immigrants) are found in firms quite heterogenous in terms of size, though women tend to be con-. centrated in smaller firms, with some working in medium-sized concerns. Most of these establishments employ a largely Hispanic workforce. A significant group of Hispanic proprietors are found in these firms, most commonly as owners of smaller businesses, and occasionally as owners of medium-sized concerns.

Between 15-20% of the Colombians in our sample were employed in this type of firm. Further analysis is necessary for the determination of "labor enclaves" within the Colombian community, although our data implies this possibility among small- and medium-sized firms. Just as the existence of unions is inversely related to the size of firms, so too is the probability greater for a selectivity of certain types of migrants for work in smaller, traditional businesses (housewives and recently arrived, illegal Colombians).

This analysis calls for a reconsideration, although in a slightly different form, of the hypothesis concerning the tendency to segmentation in the New York labor market by certain types of firms and by the differences in the migrants themselves (sex, legal status, length of residence, fluency, etc.).

Most commonly, women are employed in the smallest firms (not necessarily in the garment industry), with Hispanic owners or managers, in which unionizatin is not possible. On the other hand, women are predominantly employed in the manufacturing of non-durable goods (garment firms), in mostly medium-sized businesses, in which the absence of unions can be confirmed. In other words, from the point of view of demand, the selection process is determined by a series of characteristics of the labor supply, although these characteristics or factors do not operate in one sole direction, and correlations do not mechanically occur in all cases.

X OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE, TYPE OF EMPLOYMENT BY SIZE OF FIRM, AND EARNINGS OF UNDOCUMENTED WORKERS

In this chapter we will evaluate the existing economic differentiation between legal and undocumented Colombian workers, by sex. In what ways are legal and undocumented workers differentiated by the labor market?

Table 80, shows that male undocumented workers are concentrated in semi-skilled and blue collar operative positions (31.6%), in skilled blue collar positions (23.3%), and in service occupations (26.3%). However, there are men, illegal in status, employed in White Collar 1 occupations (professionals, technicians, and managers (10.5%), (36). There are also some unemployed among the undocumented (5.3%).

Table 80: Major Occupational Groups by Resident Status in the U.S. in the Present Occupation, for Men and Women.

	Men			Women		
	Legals	Illegals	Total	Legal	Illegals	Total
White Collar I	14 87.5 23.0 17.5	2 12.5 10.5 2.5	16 20.0	3 100.0 3.9 3.4	0 0.0 0.0 0.0	3 3.4
White Collar II	7 100.0 11.5 8.8	0 0.0 0.0 0.0	7 8.8	6 100.0 7.8 6.7	0 0.0 0.0 0.0	6 6.7
Skilled Blue Collar	10 66.7 16.4 12.5	5 33.3 26.3 6.3	15 18.8	2 100.0 2.6 2.2	0 0.0 0.0 0.0	2 2.2
Semiskilled Blue C.	9 60.0 14.8 11.3	6 40.0 31.6 7.5	15 18.8	29 93.5 37.7 32.6	2 6.5 16.7 2.2	31 34.8
Unskilled Blue Collar	5 100.0 8.2 6.3	0 0.0 0.0 0.0	5 6.3	1 100.0 1.3 1.1	0 0.0 0.0 0.0	1 1.1
Service Worker	15 75.0 24.6 18.8	5 25.0 26.3 6.3	20 25.0	8 57.1 10.4 9.0	6 42.9 50.0 6.7	14 15.7
Housewife				21 87.5 27.3 23.6	3 12.5 25.0 3.4	24 27.0
Student				3 100.0 3.9 3.4	0 0.0 0.0 0.0	3 3.4
Unemployed	1 50.0 1.6 1.3	1 50.0 5.3 1.3	2 2.5	4 80.0 5.2 4.5	1 20.0 8.3 1.1	5 5.6
Total	61 76.3	19 23.8	80 100.0	77 86.5	12 13.5	89 100.0

Source: Fordham University Sample, November 1981.

Undocumented women are concentrated in service occupations (50%) and in blue collar operative positions (16.7%). Nevertheless, 25% of the undocumented women are housewives, who probably, at some prior point, were active in the labor market. Of the undocumented women, 8.3% were unemployed.

Higher percentages of male undocumented workers work in blue collar operative, skilled blue collar, and service worker occupations than males residing the United States with legal status. There are more female undocumented service workers than female legal service workers. There is a higher concentration of undocumented workers than workers with legal status in these occupations (for both men & women).

One can see (Table 81) that undocumented men are most commonly employed in the non-durable goods manufacturing sector (47.4), in Services B (26.3%), and in Eating Places (21.1%). Women are found in Services B (42.7%), in manufacturing (durable and non-durable goods, 25%) and as housewives (33.3%).

Table 81: Branches of Economic Activity by Resident Status in U.S., and Present Occupation of Colombian Men and Women.

	Men			Women		
	Legals	Ilegals	Total	Legals	Ilegals	Total
Manufacturing (Durable goods)	9 100.0 14.5 11.1	0 0.0 0.0 0.0	9 11.1	12 92.3 15.2 13.2	1 7.7 8.3 1.1	13 14.3
Manufacturing (non-durable)	7 43.8 11.3 8.6	9 56.3 47.4 11.1	16 19.8	22 91.7 27.8 24.2	2 8.3 16.7 2.2	24 26.4
Services A	18 100.0 29.0 22.2	0 0.0 0.0 0.0	18 22.2	7 100.0 8.9 7.7	0 0.0 0.0 0.0	7 7.7
Services B	16 76.2 25.8 19.8	5 23.8 26.3 6.2	21 25.9	7 58.3 8.9 7.7	5 41.7 41.7 5.5	12 13.2
Trade	3 100.0 4.8 3.7	0 0.0 0.0 0.0	3 3.7	2 100.0 2.5 2.2	0 0.0 0.0 0.0	2 2.2
Eating	8 66.7 12.9 9.9	4 33.3 21.1 4.9	12 14.8	1 100.0 1.3 1.1	0 0.0 0.0 0.0	1 1.1
Housewife				22 84.6 27.8 24.2	4 15.4 33.3 4.4	26 28.6
Student and other non-working persons	1 50.0 1.6 1.2	1 50.0 5.3 1.2	2 2.5	6 100.0 7.6 6.6	0 0.0 0.0 0.0	6 6.6
Total	62 76.5	19 23.5	81 100.0	79 86.8	12 13.2	91 100.0

Source: Fordham University Sample, November 1981.

Examination of the size of firms employing male undocumented workers reveals that men of this status are found in firms employing fewer than 50 workers (in three ranges: fewer than ten, 11-20, and 21-50). They are also employed in large establishments. There is a relatively greater concentration of undocumented male workers in firms employing 11-20 and fewer than ten workers.

Undocumented women are clearly concentrated in firms with fewer than ten employees, although they do work in firms as large as those employing 51-100 workers. There are more illegal males (24%) than females (13.4%).

Table 82: Sex and Residence Status in the United States by Size of Firm.

		10	11-20	21-50	51-100	101-500	501-more	Total
Women	Legal	23	3	10	8	9	5	58
	Illegal	5 (17.8) (55.6)	1 (25) (11.1)	2 (20) (22.2)	1 (12.5) (11.1)	- -	- -	9 (13.4) (100.0)
	Subtotal	28	4	12	9	9	5	67
Men	Legal	12	5	13	14	11	5	60
	Illegal	5 (29.4) (26.3)	4 (44.4) (21.0)	5 (27.7) (26.3)	3 (17.6) (15.8)	— —	2 (28.6) (10.5)	19 (24.0) (100.0)
	Subtotal	17	9	18	17	11	7	79
Both sexes	Legal	35	8	23	22	20	10	118
	Illegal	10 (22.2) (35.7)	5 (38.5) (17.8)	7 (23.3) (25.0)	4 (15.4) (14.3)	— —	2 (16.7) (7.1)	28 (19.2) (100.0)
Total		45	13	30	26	20	12	146

Source: Fordham University Sample, November 1981.

The greatest concentration of illegal workers, for both sexes, is found in establishments employing fewer than ten workers (35.7%). The range 21-50 also has a considerable number of illegal workers (25%). The percentage of illegal workers in our sample of informants is 19.2%.

The median and mean weekly earnings of undocumented males are considerably lower than those of females, in respect to the weekly earnings of legal workers (Table 83). For both sexes, the difference in earnings between legal and illegal workers ranges between 21-24%. This salary differential is related to the occupational structure (blue collar operative and service worker), and the type of employment (manufacturing and Services B) in which undocumented workers are found. Half of the undocumented female workers earn less than the minimum wage (Table 83). It is not strange, then, that many undocumented women are housewives: the supply price of the occupations in which undocumented women workers can gain employment (due to their low level of education, lack of fluency in English, domestic responsibilities, etc.) fluctuates below the minimum wage.

Table 83: Mean and Median Weekly Earnings of Colombian Immigrants by Sex and Residence Status in the United States. (in dollars)

	Men			Women			Both Sexes		
	Legal	Illegal	%	Legal	Illegal	%	Legal	Illegal	%
Mean	316.8	190.3	40.0	178	160	10.1	238.5	186.1	21.9
Median	200.7	133.3	33.6	125	95	24.0	155.2	117.6	24.2

Source: Fordham University Sample.

Undocumented migrant workers have different socio-economic characteristics than legal migrants, but this is determined by occupational structure and the jobs which they can hold. They are at a disadvantage in their labor market participation, due to the segmented demand and the occupational alternatives offered them by it.

XI LIVING TO WORK SELECTIONS FROM AN INTERVIEW WITH A COLOMBIAN IMMIGRANT FAMILY

In this chapter we present portions of a family interview with a typical, "middleclass" Colombian family in Queens. There fragments illustrate themes such as the nature of working life in New York City, and aspects of the immigrants' "ideological world" as they relate to that work experience. Also included are the immigrants' perceptions of American society, and their dreams and aspirations upon arriving here.

Questions for Nanias (the father):

Q. When did you come to the U.S. for the first time and what are you doing now?

Types of Jobs -- Work Schedule

I came on December 22, 1973. I work here doing cleaning in in general. The place where I work is called Maintenance, they do office cleaning, but I always work in the same building. I work from 11:00 at night until 7:00 in the morning.

Q. Do you think life is better for you in the United States?

Vision of the U.S.

Yes because in Colombia, as the saying goes, "one lives on what one earns," but here, "one lives, saves, and spends."

His wife interrupts: "Here you can have a television, radio, iron, and tape recorder, a stereo. But in Colombia you can't have those luxuries."

Q. Aren't you in any danger in the company where you work because you're illegal?

Undocumented/Condition

Don Gildardo interrupts. (He is a friend of the family who lives with them.) Well, illegal aliens run risks wherever they go whether they work in a factory, or a restaurant, or a business. Illegal aliens have to live like fugitives. No matter where he is, he's got to watch out for the migra (the INS enforcement agents). At any minute they can grab you, because you've got one foot in Colombia, and one foot here.

Reasons for leaving Colombia

Q. Why did you leave Colombia?

There, just to keep alive you have to have a really good job. If you're not educated, well, the jobs you get don't pay enough for you to eat. Even if you get a good job, you still don't earn enought to live decently.

If you have four or five kids and you pay rent, you live from hand to mouth. even if you have a good job. If you don't, your kids don't have shoes, and you don't have enough money to pay the rent. Life is really hard there.

Husband's perception of wife's working conditions

My wife has always lived in Pereira and she's been working in that company for twenty years. She came to visit last year in April. I told her not to come because she's going to retire soon and get a little fortune. With that money and with what I get here we could start a little business. We have a house, a big house, that has enough space for a business. She's going to receive about 400,000 pesos for her pension.

I told her that it seems too hard for her to come to this country. Of course, she can be really strong. But after working for twenty years in a factory, to come here and work in a factory, and only eat sandwiches, to bring her lunch, no, it seems really terrible to me, to come here and then suffer more here than over there.

Q. Haven't your children wanted to come to the United States?

Costs of migration

No, because the trip costs so much. They don't give you a visa in the Consulate, and if they try to come through Mexico or the Bahamas, we need a lot of money to bring them; you need 120,00 or 150,000 pesos. That's a lot of money.

Q. Have you accomplished the goals you set for yourself when you came to the United State?

Goals in U.S.

Of course, yes. What happened is that it's been pretty bad for me. When I went back for the first time I took some money, almost 100,000 pesos , in 1972, when that was a lot of money. I did some bad business over there, and I failed, but that's not because it's been bad here for me, because I supported my mother, my wife, and my children. I can't complain.

Q. Do you think that the United States has changed a lot since the first time you came?

Cost of living in U.S.

In 1971, I started out earning $2.00 an hour in a factory, and then in restaurants. I cleared about $55 or $60 a week. I went shopping with a friend, and we ate on $10.00 a week, and we each paid $15.00 a week for rent. So, each week you could save about $40 or $35. Now it's different. If you make the minimum, $3.35 an hour, you end the week with $115.00, $110.00, $120.00. If you're alone, you pay $50.00 for a room. You spend $30.00 on food. You spend $15.00 on going out, that's $95. And when Monday comes around you don't have enough to buy anything. That's if you're single. If you've got a wife and kids, you don't even have enough for rent because it costs more than $200.00; $300.00, $350.00, $400.00.

Q. Do you think you have achieved the goals you had when you came to the United States?

Goals in U.S.

Yes, what I still need to do is study for a few years so I can become a professional. But to do that I need money for this and money for that. It is easier to get money here though.

Q. If you had the opportunity to stay in the United State, would you?

Vision of the U.S.

Yes, because as a friend said, "The United States is the land of milk and honey." That means an abundance of everything. Here there are jobs for everybody, for those who want to work, whether he's legal or illegal. I'm more scared of the laws here than in Colombia.

We're strangers here, and that's why I'm more scared of the law here than in Colombia. No matter what you do here, they're ready to take you to court, to jail, and I'm scared of the law, I respect it. A lot of friends that I know respect American laws more than the laws in Colombia. .p27

Question for don Gildardo: What have you liked most about American society?

Even though everything is more expensive now than when I came over the first time, you have what you want here. If you come and get yourself a little job which only pays the minimum wage, at least you can live. You can save. You can think about part-time work, and even save 20 to 25 dollars. With two part-time jobs you can save $50 to $55. So today you send your family $55 and in a

week you don't. But at least you still have enough to buy yourself a pair of pants or a shirt, some shoes, a radio, or a tape recorder. Sometimes you can go to a store with "specials," and with that $55.00 you can buy yourself a suit. Three weeks later you have to send money home again to your family 'y asi se "apera" de ropa y todo lo demas'. In a month you're saving $80.00-$100.00 and are sending money to your wife, pinching, pinching. Because if you start drinking, you're not going to have enough money for anything. Of course, there are people with vices who do know how to save, because if you grab your bottle and go home, you drink it and get drunk, but at least it happened at home, and you satisfied your desire. Monday you get up and go to work. You only spent $7.00 or $8.00. But if you go to a bar, well, then you've spent the whole $50.00.

Undocumented/Condition

Nanias interrupts: I want to tell you something. Legal residents do have a bad habit. They treat the illegals as if they were slaves. They say, "They come here to take our bread away from us." Colombian residents say that the undocumented are taking up the space of the legal residents. That's really common among Colombians. To me, they're just envious.

Gildardo interrupts: Not only that. If a Colombian knows that you're illegal, for example, and you have a good job, they try to get you out by calling the I.N.S., or even by going to the office in the company and telling them, "You've got an illegal alien here."

Nanias: In the place where I work I know of more than 20 cases. Undocumented workers work harder than legal ones because they know their food depends on it. A legal doesn't have any problems. An undocumented doesn't know his rights, or he's scared.

Q. Is there a lot of difference between the jobs legals and illegals have?

No, there's no difference (Nanias). They get paid the same if they do the same job. Here there's no special treatment for whites, blacks, Chinese, yellow, Colombians.

Q. Where are there more undocumented workers, in cleaning or in the garment industry?

In the garment industry, because they exploit more. They only pay the minimum. They work the hardest and they're scared to make any demands.

In the company where I work (cleaning) you can earn as much as somebody who's been here 10 or 15 years. They don't pay by seniority, but by the job you do.

Q. Do you have a union there? (To Nanias)

Yes, we have a couple, called 32b and 32J and we are affiliated. There isn't any discrimination because we're undocumented. I like my company a lot, and I like the U.S. a lot. The United States is my second country -- "I Love New York." I've been here four times, and soon I'm going back to Colombia. But I'll be back here again soon, too.

Q. What about "part-time" jobs?

Number of full-time and part-time jobs

Many Colombians work two or three shifts. One of my Colombian friends told me an anecdote (he's the foreman of one of the buildings owned by the company I work for): "My work was so hard that one time I took the train, and I didn't know if I was coming or going." I asked him to explain. That same day, he got to a job and he called his wife and told her: "Honey, I'm telling you, I'm going to drop to the ground..." and with that, he fell down! His wife went to get him, and he had fallen to the ground, unconscious.

They took him to the hospital and they told him that he was over-tired. They gave him three months to rest, and the guy left all of his jobs. He didn't know where he was. I don't want that to happen to me!

Forced over-time work

I do 2 or 3 days of overtime for the company, but I don't want to do two shifts.

I work 40 hours a week. Last week I did 32 hours of overtime, but that was the first time I did 32 hours of overtime. I usually do 15 hours of overtime a month. On Saturdays, I'll do 10 and on Sundays 5 or 6 hours.

I don't like to do overtime. First, we earn $7.11 an hour. On overtime we get $10.68 an hour, but the government takes out, so it comes out to $6.00 an hour for "overtime." It's not worth it to work so much since the government takes it away in taxes. It bothers me a lot not doing the work.

Q. You do overtime because the company asks you to?

Yes, the company asks for it. The company asks for your services.

Inter-ethnic competition in workplace

Q. If you compare your work with other Hispanics, do you think that they give you the same position?

If you put me in with a Puerto Rican or Dominican with the same amount of experience, we'll do the job the same. But they don't put me with new people. At work, Colombians, Dominicans, Puerto Ricans, Ecuadorians are all the same. They give you a job and you do it. If you do it bad, you're out....
But there's no discrimination here, that's why I like New York. If they place the ad, they make the offer. If you're a bad worker, they'll call you today, but not tomorrow, if you're Colombian, Dominican, or Puerto Rican. That's how my company is. Of course, you try to surpass the other guy at work. For your pride, for your own ego. To take less time than the other guy. I do it, I've done it: take less time than workers of other nationalities.

Costs of Residence/Visas

(Concerning a friend, with illegal status, who tried to get a visa by means of marriage, Nanias:

Pablo has been married three times, and three times he failed to get his visa. The last time they interviewed him in New Jersey and he messed up because his supposed wife lied.

A friend of Blanca's got married three times and for one reason or another it messed up and she spent $10,000 the last time, until she finally gave up and left. With that money I'd prefer to go to Colombia! Jesus Christ!

Now Blanca has her residency, I got it for her and her kids, but I'm not going to spend $4,000 or $5,000 for residence. With that money I'd start myself a business in Colombia.

Q. How much did your wife's residency cost?

It cost her $3,300. It isn't very cheap, but she got it pretty quickly, only three months. The lawyer came through. He earned the money honestly.

Q. How long does it take for people to get their residency when they come from Colombia?

Costs of Migration

One or two years, because the first thing one does when you come from Colombia is pay off the passage. "Tom, Dick and Harry" each lend you 20,000 or 40,000 pesos. So you have to pay them back so they don't think you stole the money from them. The first thing you have to do is protect your name, your moral integrity. You can't establish yourself for at least a year. We took more than a year in establishing ourselves.

If the I.N.S. catches me, well, they have all the right, it's their country, they call the shots here, and we're intruders.

Undocumented/Condition

Q. Do you feel like an intruder?

Nanias: Well, yes, because I'm occupying a job that really belongs to a legal person. I'm always on the side of the law, I never want to disobey it, but some people that I know that are "niggers," don't work as hard as I do. My father always says: "It's not the day that works, but he who works," in other words, "its not the work one does, but he who does it." If they give me a job to do in 8 hours, I do it in half the time. What happens is I do the work harder so they see me doing it. But I do it in less than half the time.

We Colombians do things faster because we're a little brighter than the others at the factory. We do the work faster and better, but so that they don't give me work that's not mine to do, I take the whole 8 hours.

Future goals

Q. What are your aspirations from now on?

I want my children to become professionals.

XIII COLOMBIAN MIGRANTS IN THE NEW YORK LABOR MARKET: GENERAL INTERPRETATION OF THE DATA

The detailed and dry analysis of the charcteristics of Colombian immigrants and their decreasing selectivity for migration during the 1970s, their incorporation into the New York labor market, their occupational histories differentiated by sex, the socio-demographic and socio-economic cnaracteristics of their households, and the types of establishments in which they work can be capsulized in the following observations:

1) The migration of Colombians during the 1970s occurred during the consolidation of the service sector as the main branch of economic activity generating employment in the city of New York. Although the service sector had been expanding in the North American labor market during the 1970s (Browing and Singelmann, 1975), the New York City labor market is even more highly specialized in the service industries than the American economy as a whole (Ehrenhalt, 1982). The manufacturing sector, progressively less important, has been reduced to labor intensive industrial production in the traditional durable and non-durable goods sectors. As the data has suggested, this tendency became more marked toward the middle of the decade.

Therefore, the labor demand that the second wave of Colombian immigrants encountered upon their arrival was a specific type:

a) A supply of relatively sophisticated jobs in the Specialized and Professional Services Sector (Services A, in this text), although differentiated according to the services offered to the varying clientele. These jobs require nominal educational levels of 13 years of more, fluency in English, but especially, training and residency of a certain length of time for the development of contacts in this sector.

High and middle-level positions are available to Colombians in this sector, generally as managers and administrators, but white collar clerical positions are also offered, the latter primarily to women.

A small percentage of the Colombian men studied do have these jobs, attained through ascending occupational mobility over the last decade. They are the migrants with the highest educational levels and greatest fluency in English. They are not necessarily, however, the professionals and technicians that arrived here before the year 1970, who were, in fact, found more often in the health professions than in the Services A sector.

b) Cleaning and Maintenance Sector (Services B - cleaning of buildings and offices through medium-sized and large companies) This is the most important branch of the service industries for Colombian men in terms of the generation of employment. Here, the majority of Colombian men exercise occupations such as service worker and blue collar operative, although there are also Colombians employed as managers, supervisors, and foremen.

Colombians are therefore employed in two types of occupations within this sector. Acquisition of a supervisory position is achieved through previous employment in low-level jobs; one must "work one's way up the ladder." Nevertheless, as has been mentioned earlier, there is an over-representation of managers and supervisors among Colombian men. These men have an average of ten years of schooling, but for these jobs, fluency in English is not required.

c) The Personal Services Sector, (Services B in this text), which consists of the cleaning of offices and homes, is populated predominantly by women in our sample. Here contracts are made directly between the worker and the clientele, without the intermediary of firms (37). An important subgroup of women are employed here, second in importance only to those with industrial employment. Also within this sector are those Colombian men and women employed in personal services such as hair care, cosmetology, etc.

d) Within the Serivces B sector a subgroup of skilled blue collar workers (mainly men) is employed in auto repair shops and in the repair of electric appliances.

e) Mainly women and undocumented male workers are employed as blue collar "operatives" in the manufacturing of durable and non-durable goods. In terms of percentages, this sector employs the most Colombians, and as the data demonstrated, is the most important sector for the employment of Colombian women.

As the data concerning occupational histories shows, this sector now provides fewer and fewer jobs to Colombians, causing them to search for employment in the service sector. This could be caused by the existence of two simultaneously occurring processes: pressure originating within the labor supply to leave this sector, due to the extremely hard working conditions and low wages, and the effective reduction in the number of available positions within this sector, forcing the immigrants to find employment elsewhere.

f) Finally, we will examine the eating and drinking sector (especially restaurants), the transportation sector, and trade. The first provides an important occupational alternative for men, but for most it provides only transitory, or initial, employment in the New York labor market. Nevertheless, a subgroup of Colombian men do remain employed in the eating and drinking sector and make careers for themselves there. Employment in the transportation sector implies the occupation of taxi driver, exercized mostly by men. Employment in trade consists primarily of women working in small businesses within the Colombian community.

There has been a growing differentation in the employment structure of the New York market during the 1970s between, on the one hand, white collar occupations (such as managers) in specialized services establishments and in the administrative offices of some large corporations (but not in their production plants) and service and blue collar occupations in the services and collective consumption activities (such as cleaning, maintenance, transport, etc.), and on the other hand, occupations that have become more and more marginal, such as blue collar operative positions in the traditional manufacturing industries of New York (the garment industry, for example).

This differentiation has created two kinds of labor market insertion, and subsequently, two kinds of occupational mobility: one for Colombian men and another for Colombian women. In this manner, two different types of labor markets have been in operation for the second wave of Colombian migrants (based on the hypothesis of the segmented labor market developed by Gordon, Richards, Edwards, 1981):

a) A secondary labor market, composed primarily of women (38), in the manufacturing industries and in small scale personal service concerns, with the lowest remunerations, and the worst working conditions.

b) A secondary labor market, with primarily male workers, in the cleaning and maintenance branch of the service sector, in which men are employed as service workers and operative blue collar workers.

c) A primary labor market composed of subordinate primary workers (for example, supervisors, administrators, managers, and foremen) in specialized and professional services or in large and medium-sized maintenace and cleaning companies employed as supervisors or foremen. Obviously, those employed in this labor market have the highest levels of remuneration.

The data concerning occupational mobility , according to sex, show that there is a slightly greater tendency toward mobility by branch of economic activity than by occupational groups, without substantial differences in occupational positions (as wage earners) in jobs held in different sectors. This is true above all for women. The difference between occupational groups and branches of activity is not as pronounced among men. This differentiation between men and women indicates that the segmentation of the market into primary and secondary markets operates through the dynamic of occupational groups, without discounting the fact that occupations of the secondary market concentrate in certain branches of industry.

2) This labor demand is distributed among firms of different sizes, but as was seen in the analysis of Table 72, there is a significant number of small- and medium-sized establishments owned by Hispanics in the services, commerce, and industrial production. That is, at the same time that the New York labor market has become differentiated -- expanded in some sectors (the services) and substantially reduced in others (manufacturing sector) -- a small scale economy of immigrant proprietors has consolidated itself, supported by the immigrant labor supply in New York, including that of Colombians. Within this labor supply demand develops for services and products, of this migrant enclave economy (Sassen-Koob 1981 and Portes 1982).

Portes has suggested the hypothesis of a "peripheralization" of some sectors of the economy and employment in the urban United States (and, in general, in "core" countries) to explain this phenomenon. In reality, the growing employment in the secondary labor market, in personal services and manufacturing, is the principal expression of this "peripheral" economy in New York City (39).

3. In general, Colombian immigrants arriving in the second wave of migration, as recent immigrants, have lower supply prices

than the mean and median supply prices of other workers in the U.S. labor market (in terms of weekly earnings), in all of the occupational groups in which they are found.

It is important to note, then, that Colombians are not only a "cheap labor force" for the secondary labor markets in New York City (40). In fact, this lower rate of remuneration is true for those employed in the primary labor market, in subordinate or dependent occupations. In fact, this phenomenon should be equally as valid for other groups of recent immigrants in competition with Colombians for similar jobs: in some secondary labor markets, they compete with Dominicans; in primary markets, South American immigrants with characteristics similar to those of Colombians (Argentinians, Brazilians) and Asian groups (Indians, Chinese, Pakistanis, etc.) are also their competitors. The characteristic unique to recent immigrants of urban, middle class origin, such as the Colombian immigrants in question, is the pattern of high levels of participation in the labor market that they present. Men and women, both spouses and other members of the household (children and other family members) with the capacity to work are working. Consequently, households achieve nominally high incomes due to the pooling of the remuneration of the primary worker (husband, or head of household) with those of the second any workers (wife, children, or other members). A larger labor supply in the various labor markets results from this strategy of higher income attainment. This is verified by the broad sector of Colombian households that demonstrate a combination of employment in different sectors of the economy (for example, the husband in the service sector, and the wife in manufacturing).

One result of this strategy is the concentration of secondary household workers in the poorest paid jobs, with the worst working conditions. Therefore, there is a relationship between the segmentation of the labor market and the type of participation of the various household members in this market, differentiated in terms of sex and position within the household.

For the immigrant (male or female), the household, and in particular, the nuclear family (husband, wife, and children), is fundamental as an economic base of support. It is the primary network of survival for the Colombian immigrant. Of lesser importance are the complementary networks composed of Colombian friends and relatives (brothers, uncles, cousins, etc.). The data reveal a clear relationship between the type of household and levels of remuneration per household. This is important to keep in mind when one finds two or more household members participating in the labor market in different types of jobs with the aim of a attaining greater nominal income.

4) As was examined in detail, the migration of Colombians during the 1970s was dominated by the lower middle- and middle class, originating in the four main Colombian cities (the most important being Cali) (41). In Colombia, the immigrants were employed as white collar workers in government, commerce, or industry, with remunerations much higher than the minimum wage, or they were housewives or students in households with members engaged in the activities listed above.

One could argue that the Colombian immigrants did not experience descending occupational mobility in the United States, because this mobility has occurred across two countries (the United States and Colombia) with different occupational structures, and with social statuses ascribed in differing manners to these occupations, aside from the fact that nominal wages are much higher in the U.S. In reality, the differences are relative:

a) industrial occupations in the United States, such as garment workers and others in the durable goods sector employing Colombians, use technology quite similar to that used in Colombia (labor-intensive technology). Working conditions in these occupations are not that different in Colombia as against New York.

b) The main difference between the cleaning services is that they are controlled by firms in the United States, while in Colombia, personal services are still rendered by individuals not associated with outside companies. There, women predominate in domestic services, working in continual subordination to those receiving their services. Nevertheless, these working conditions give the Colombian service worker the same type of low social status which is ascribed to all service workers in the United States. These occupations, then, differentiate the workers performing them in a negative manner from other workers. Above all, however, service occupations are similar in both countries because in neither country do they provide training enabling those in them to move toward other types of employment within the U.S. occupational structure.

Among other economic factors in the migration process, one finds the simultaneous deterioration of real earnings in the Colombian middle class of the 1970s, and consumption patterns becoming more and more "internationalized" (43). The United States appears as an alternative: jobs with higher nominal remuneration than in Colombia and the possibility of savings. In the words of a Colombian male interviewed in Queens, at least in the United States "one lives a hard life, but one with opportunities to earn money."

Nevertheless, combined with these economic factors, are other very important elements in the migration process for Colombian families in general, and for Colombian women in particular. The emotional dimension of the migration process has played a decisive role for women and their families in Colombia, a very culturally epressive society for women, particularly in terms of female sexuality, a society in which patriarchal norms are still quite strong among the Colombian middle class (C.C.R.P. 1981 and Garcia Castro 1981, 1982) (42). Many family conflicts, such as the separation of spouses, and the conflict between fathers and daughters, have appeared in the personal histories of female Colombian immigrants interviewed by Garcia Castro (1982).

The frustration of men with the Colombian school system (at the secondary and university levels), especially of single men between the ages of 20-25, has played a significant role in their migration to United States, causing them to want to continue their studies in the United States (although this desire is expressed in quite an ambiguous manner) (44).

From this perspective, in which migration is viewed as a product of the inter-relationship of various different types of factors, the second wave of Colombian migration can be seen as a strategy for social mobility within the Colombian urban middle class. The goal of this strategy is to maintain or acquire the urban consumption patterns that labor and economic conditions in Colombia do not permit. This has been a life goal for the migrants, although it may well be based upon an illusion.

Apparently, though, a significant number of Colombian households are realizing this aspiration in New York. Analysis of the remuneration of Colombian households showed that many earn the same nominal incomes as the middle- and lower-middle class in Queens and New York. Nevertheless, this nominally high income is due to a high rate of participation in the labor market, and the behavior of those households as "target earner households." Households with the highest incomes (for example, more than $35,000 annually) are homes of more than six person, in which more than four household members are active in the labor market. In these homes, it would seem that one lives merely to work.

The downward occupational mobility experienced by Colombians upon entering the U.S. labor market is compensated by the nominal middle-level remunerations they receive in jobs in the secondary market. However, although they earn incomes comparable to the native middle class, they do so at the cost of considerably more and harder work and a reduction of their own level of living in some areas, such as housing, to save reproduction costs.

Colombians would seem, then, in terms of some indicators (such as income, type of housing, etc.), to be one of the groups of the New York middle class. The truth is, however, that the middle class in New York does not work in the secondary labor market as Colombians do (or other immigrants, for that matter), nor must they work as hard and as long for their incomes as Colombians.

Colombian immigration seems to be decreasing, in that economic opportunities in New York City, in terms of jobs, incomes, and the cost of living, continue to follow the same trends: a great reduction in the number of available jobs in the manufacturing sector and the fall in real wages. In addition, the initial investment necessary for migration (transportation costs, the cost of attaining a visa, or of illegal entry without documents) is high enough at this point to discourage new potential migrants. Another possible factor influencing the drop in Colombian immigration is that present economic conditions reduce the possibilities of sending remittances back to Colombia (45).

Naturally, any type of program against the undocumented implemented by the Reagan administration would discourage the flow of illegal immigration, raising the price of illegal documentation for entry to the United States and/or the U.S. labor market.

At the very least, migration will become more difficult for Colombian women, due to the fact that many of them work in sectors most affected by the economic recession and they will be harshly affected by the manner in which the New York labor market adjusts to

it by decreasing the number of jobs available in the manufacturing sector.

This tendency towards decreasing migration may have already begun during the past three or four years. The macrodemographic data compiled by D.A.N.E. (Ordonez 1981) indicate this for the period 1978-1980. Another possiblity is the increase of return migration over that of new migration (to the U.S.) This point is only a suggestion, requiring further study.

This interpretation of the data has brought us to a very important generalization conerning international migration. The internationalization of the workforce (McLean-Petras 1981) is achieved through the growing inter-relationship between different labor markets ("core" countries and peripheral countries). This does not necessarily imply, however, a homogenization of the occupations, wages, or circulation patterns (how migrants move from one market to another) of the labor force. Workers move from one market to another, but do not necessarily exercize the same occupations held in the sending country. Workers migrate, or leave a labor market, when their working conditions and level of living deteriorate, and salary differentials determine the destination (receiving market) of the migratory stream (Urrea and Forero 1980). This process is obviously subject to the economic cycles of capitalist accumulation in the two markets in question (the sending and receiving markets). These cycles not only influence the increase or decrease of the migration stream, but also the amount of return migration at any given point in time.

6) The examination of the process of capitalist accumulation and the conditions of the reproduction of the migrant labor force is not sufficient for an understanding of migratory streams. It is necessary to introduce other elements into the analysis, especially in the migration of women and children (Garcia Castro 1982), appraising the micro-aspects of the migration of individuals belonging to household groups, and the members of the household as a unit. One must not lose sight of the emotional life and issues surrounding sexuality as they influence the life goals that migrants bring with them in the migration process, and how their ideological visions are manifested and worked out after migration. In reality, one must investigate the life dreams of people as individuals, as families, and as larger social groups. Our task here has been to present the socio-economic dimension of the migration process, within the framework of the New York City labor market and the tendencies it has presented during the past decade.

FOOTNOTES

1. The Gurak work is based on a representative area sample, based upon information on the Hispanic population per track in New York City. The questionnaire collected extensive information on the sociodemographic and occupational history of Colombians, beginning with their experiences in the sending country, broad and detailed information on the migrant labor market, on resident status, and a comprehensive package concerning form of entrance and adjustment to the labor market. The questionnaire covered more than 1,500 variables.

2. Naturally, the interviews also contain long and detailed occupational histories, concerning the working conditions and work processes of men and women in various kinds of businesses: garment, cleaning, and personal services. The interviews also explore the world of undocumented workers.

3. The family and the household are two units of analysis used on the micro level for the understanding of the behavior of the labor supply in terms of their reproduction in the labor market.

4. Many different factors have been attributed to this phenomenon: the social and economic crisis of the welfare system; the necessity to decrease the power of labor and labor indiscipline; the recovery and continued use of old labor intensive technology for competition in certain branches of industry on the international market, in the face of the crisis of the old capital intensive sectors; and a work force enjoying a relatively high degree of bargaining power. It is really a group of factors at work here, that point to the reorientation of American capital since the 1960s, but above all, during the decade of the 1970s (Gordon, 1981; Portes, 1981; McLean-Petras, 1981; Sassen-Koob, 1981).

5. This a contradictory process, because in order to perpetuate the use of traditional, labor intensive technology, with the use of a supply of cheap labor, productivity must continue at the same lagging levels. At the same time, however, the increasing competition among workers, even more pronounced if part of the labor is performed through the piece rate system, creates a greater efficiency of capital, but with low rates of productivity (and therefore, with greater exploitation of the workforce, under the form of absolute surplus value). On the other hand, one must consider thet the rationality of this type of organization of work in the secondary market allows for the fragmentation of the working class through the competition achieved between workers (obvious in the piece rate system), the increase turnover in the workforce, and a greater incidence of part-time workers.

6. The data of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) only include those migrants admitted to the U.S. as leagal residents. Accordingly, there is an unmonitored number of the Colombians in the U.S. without legal residency, but our hypothesis is that the flow of those admitted legally reflects in some sense the flow of the total Colombian population to the U.S., because among those admitted legally are some migrants who had before resided in the U.S. illegally; of course, their period of residency in the United States began in some year prior to their legal admission to this country.

7. Lecture of Dr. Evelyn S. Mann, Director, Population Research, Department of City Planning of the City of New York, December 1, 1981, in "Hispanic Migration to New York City, Global Trends and Neighborhood Changes a public conference, CLACS, New York University.

8. One should be cautious with the data compiled by the INS because there is always a large percentage of <u>de facto</u> residents of 2-3, or more, years within those legally admitted to the United States each year.

9. As explained in the footnotes (Table 5), these calculations are based on arbitrary suppositions, but they are supported by available information and by presupposed relationship between legal and illegal residents that is quite realistic.

10. The calculation realized by Ordoñez is based on the demographic method applied by Somoza in the two Encuestas Nacionales de Hogares 1978 and 1980, concerning information on mothers and/or children living outside of Colombia (in the U.S.).

11a. Written with the collaboration of Mary Garcia Castro.

11b. Note that "The Colombian Population includes those born in Colombia, as well as those with one or both parents born in Colombia." (Macisco and Powers, 1981: 239) (On utilizing the data for the population of 16 years of age and older, and establishing that the Colombian migratory stream became greater in volume at the beginning of the 1960's, we will assume that no great distortions result from the comparison of data derived from two different conceptual frameworks.

12. The 1973 Census data concerning the urban Colombian workforce is given because recent Colombian migrants are almost exclusively of urban origin, and because of their extremely high rate of participation in the labor market upon arrival in the United States (81.2% for those 15 years of age or older: Fordham University Sample, 1981).

13. Naturally, a large segment of the urban Colombian population of 25 years of age or older have experienced internal migration, principally inter-urban migration during the period 1950-1975, as many inter-census analyses in Colombia have shown. What should be stressed here is the important segment of the Colombian population in New York City (and possibly in the U.S.) of 30 years of age or older who were internal migrants in Colombia. This factor is related to their selectivity as a migratory group toward the United States. Although one can not assume that this factor is the direct causal element in their migration process, one can observe that this factor is associated with other causal factors, such as the migrants' occupational history in Colombia, level of earnings, and consumption patterns in Colombia.

14. According to data generated by DANE (Departamento Nacional de Estadística de Colombia) in their Urban Household Interviews.

15. Included here are small businessmen. Interview conducted with a family from Pereira.

16. Between 16,500 and 33,000 Colombian pesos (~ 50 pesos per U.S. $1.00). In terms of the Colombian minimum wage for July, 1981, $110.00 monthly, these white collar occupations offered remuneration between 2.7 and 5.5 times the value of the monthly minimum wage.

17. There was a disproportionately high number of professionals in the field of health, both male and female, within this wave of migration. Note the INS data. Within this first migratory stream, such factors as wage differentials and rapid upward occupational mobility were certainly in operation, more than that of the deterioration of real wages that so influenced the second wave after 1970. Wage differentials are, of course, a factor at play in the second wave of migration, but in this case there is also a "push factor" which influences the migration process.

18. Written with the collaboration of Mary Garcia Castro.

19. This valid only for those female heads of household without the economic and/or domestic support of other household members.

20. Our analysis seeks to combine the different types of occupations and jobs that are held by various household members during the period of time. We accomplish this by examining the present occupations of each member.

21. See the excellent study of the garment industry written by Roy B. Helfgott, (Max Hall, editor), "Made in New York, Case Studies in Metropolitan Manufacturing," Women's and Child's Apparel; Harvard University Press, 1959. See also Waldinger (1982) on new trends in the New York garment industry, especially about immigrant entrepreneurship.

22. As Hymer says, "...due to the internationalization of capital, competition between national capitalists is becoming less and less a source of rivalry between nations. Using the instrument of direct investment large corporations are able to penetrate foreign markets and detach their interests from their home markets. At the same time, capitalists from all nations, including underdeveloped countries, are able to diversify their portfolios internationally through the international capital market. Given these tendencies, an international capitalist class is emerging whose interests lie in the world economy as a whole and a system of international private property which allows free movement of capital between coutnries..." (Hyman, Stephen: Interproach, 1972). Underlines inserted by author of this study.

23. One should keep in mind the substantial over-representation of the Puerto Rican population within the Hispanic population of New York City, which has the highest unemployment rates of all the Hispanic sub-groups.

24. The data in our sample concerning earnings in New York only reflect the tendencies of that city's labor market, for one group in the labor supply, while the data of the U.S. Labor Department are national in scale and include the tendencies of the same occupational groups in quite different labor markets.

25. Mexicans, Cubans, and Puerto Ricans are over-represented in the sub-sample of Hispanics in the U.S. Labor Department study.

26. On the other hand, this is not the case for the Colombian migration which occurred before the decade of the 1970s, which encountered different conditions upon arrival.

27. This rationality typical of many migrant group in the labor markets of receiving nations, is more accentuated in the United States, and especially in New York City, due to the deterioration of real wages during the past few years, caused by inflation (see Table 43). However, this rationality is operating in a much more selective form, against dependent members of the household (small children and elderly family members) who can not work in the labor market, or aid in domestic activities, whose maintenance costs are therefore high.

28. If the "other member" is not working, he/she may be caring for the children, but if the other member is employed, he/she provides an important extra income for the household. Case No. 1: Mother and children, with another female member (mother, aunt, or grandmother). If this other female member is not employed, then the income of the mother is nominally high, in order to be able to maintain her children and the third member of the household, who can be active in the domestic chores of the household. Case No. 2: Mother and children, with a male "other member" (brother or close relative of the mother), who is employed in the labor market.

29. Calculated in terms of an average annual income of $20,785 for the whole sample. (See Table 47)

30. The effect has been to decrease the incentives of the potential migrant population in Colombia to realize migration to the United States.

31. We will analyze the occupational mobility of 176 informants in the sample, 84 men and 92 women. This information was not available for household members other than the informants themselves.

32. We will not examine the occupation of longest duration in the U.S. in detail.

33. We here make a distinction between occupational activities, which include the occupations of housewife and student, and economically active occupations (in the labor market while the former includes all household members (over 15 years old), in and outside the labor market, the latter includes only the economically active population (both employed and unemployed).

34. These are supervisory positions, such as foremen.

35. This is a more advanced form of domestic service work.

36. And for undocumented male workers.

37. This "peripheralization" is based upon segmentation within the secondary labor market itself into two markets of employment. Prebisch (1981) notes a similar phenomenon in Third World countries. Comments on Fernando Urrea's "Life Strategies and the Labor Market of Colombians in New York," New York University, January 1982.

38. As Portes suggests, there is an important differential in wages between workers in different secondary markets, which creates a "sub-minimum wage" for those most "peripherally employed" workers.

39. The over representation of the city of Cali in the migration stream to the United States (which is also true of the urban migration to Venezuela; Murillo 1980), calls for a specific analysis of Cali's labor market, and above all, of households with migrants in the U.S. Murillo (1981) demonstrates that a segment of the Colombian population migrating to Venezuela (from Cali) follows a pattern of "save and return" migration. This return migration is especially oriented toward activities within the urban informal sector of Cali. That is, according to these first findings, the expansions of Cali's informal sector is in good part associated with international migration, through the "savings" of the migrants. In addition, Cali is one of the city that had the greatest expansion of its informal sector during the decade of 1970s. On the other hand, Cali experienced a widespread and broad developed of middle-level social groups with more economic stability than other Colombian cities during the 1970s.

40. This point will be examined in great detail in the study concerning Colombian immigrant women written by Mary Garcia Castro, who has hypothesized about the combination of economic and cultural factors operating in the migration of Colombian women to the United States. This suggests that the migration of women has its own specificity.

41. Our in-depth interviews with Colombian men and women reveal a "consumerist" ideology among Colombian migrants, based on the model of comfort demonstrated by the American middle class. The illusion of economic progress, expressed through symbols of consumption, appeared in all of those interviewed, both male and female. For those interviewed, these symbols were especially, domestic appliances (among them color television, and stereos), cars, and clothing. The principal tendency (Altimir, 1981 and Filgueira, 1981) of the middle class in Latin America is to focus on the attainment of durable goods.

42. I have deduced this from my conversations with members of the Colombian community and with single men who have come to the United States with incomplete high school and/or university level educations. The participation of some single men and women in the age range of 20-30 years of age, in the student movements, of the 1970s in Colombia has had a relatively important influence in their migration to the United States. Their political participation caused them to leave their university studies incomplete.

43. In this regard, the exchange rate (between the dollar and the peso) and the rate of inflation in Colombia greatly influence migration.

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